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SOCIAL DUTIES

From the Christian Point of View

A TEXTBOOK FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

BY

CHARLES RICHMOND HENDERSON

CONSTRUCTIVE BIBLE STUDIES
ADVANCED AND SUPPLEMENTARY SERIES

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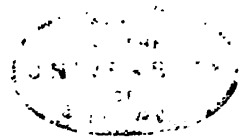

PREFACE

There was a memorable saying of the last generation: *Property has its duties as well as its rights.* But our view of property is this: *The rights of property mean a concentration of social duties.* Our socialism rests in *duty,* not in *right.* Duty is always plain; right is a verbal mystification. A man can always and everywhere do his duty. He seldom can get his supposed rights without trampling on the rights of others. Men wrangle incessantly as to rights. They easily agree as to duties. The performance of duty is always ennobling, a moral, a religious act. The struggle for rights calls out all the passions of self and of combat.[1]

These words of a high-minded writer of recent times may serve as an introduction to the present volume; but we must go farther; we must give a distinctly Christian note to our treatment. While most of what is written here has the broadly human aspect, it is all intended for people who are already inspired by the motive of love to God as revealed in Jesus Christ, and who desire to learn what the Master requires of men and women of this generation.

The social teachings of Jesus and the Hebrew prophets have long been the theme of scholars and no attempt is made here to rival their work or

[1] Frederick Harrison, *National and Social Problems.*

185917

even summarize their studies. The man of affairs may gain inspiration from the poets, seers, and prophets; he may correct his narrow generalizations by thinking out the universal principles of life which were the theme of Plato and Aristotle as well as of Hosea and Isaiah; but when he comes to actual conduct he must know the present world and what it requires. We live in a new world, in many respects utterly unlike all others yet heir of all the past. The problems of this age are the most complex man ever faced, and the principles of life are tested under conditions which have been freshly created by the forces of modern progress. The weapons of our warfare are no longer bows and arrows but long-range cannon; the self-binding reaper has made the sickle impossible; the telegraph has displaced the fire signals; the city has urbanized the country; "new occasions teach new duties." The youth of our churches who are ambitious to lead the conduct of men must first become competent to mold its thoughts.

The treatment found in this textbook is brief, even fragmentary; it is only a push and a hint. Perhaps it is all the better that the paragraphs contain so little matter; their chief purpose is to start independent thinking and give it the right direction. It is not predigested mental food,

offering a false hope of easy and cheap mastery of vast and vital problems; it is a call to intellectual labor; it is a summons to patriotic and religious toil. He who has honestly labored to find his path of duty will be more likely to pursue it persistently and bravely. The sluggard at the study lamp is a coward in the battle. Great and noble deeds grow out of serious and prolonged reflection and communion with the highest.

We may cite the words of a great man of science, as indicating our aim:

> But the boys and girls for whose education the school boards have to provide have not merely to discharge domestic duties, but each of them is a member of a social and political organization of great complexity, and has, in future life, to fit himself into that organization, or be crushed by it. To this end it is surely needful, not only that they be made acquainted with the elementary laws of conduct, but that their affections should be trained so as to love with all their hearts that conduct which tends to the attainment of the highest good for themselves and their fellow-men, and to hate with all their hearts that opposite course of action which is fraught with evil.[1]

The fundamental position assumed in this book is controverted by men of worth and piety, and this position would be here defended by argument had this not already been done by such

[1] Thomas Huxley, *Science and Education,* quoted by the *Outlook,* August 8, 1908, p. 789.

distinguished men as Gladden, Abbott, Rauschenbusch, Mathews, Peabody, Strong, and numerous others, and recently accepted by official action of the principal denominations. Twenty years ago such arguments were needed; now it is hardly worth while to repeat them and it is difficult to add to what has been written. Therefore the principle is assumed as sustained by proof, that the churches of Christ have a social duty and a ministry in the service of mankind which extends to all human needs, so far as the church has resources to help.

Rev. Mr. Clow, the well-known Glasgow United Free Church minister, states the abandoned doctrine in a definite form, and just because he is a man of capacity and character his words may be taken as typical. In writing in the *Scottish Review* (as cited in the *Dominion Presbyterian,* September 2, 1908) he said that social service is good work but not for the church to do.

> The premiss of all its message is that the one urgent need of men is to be brought into the faith and fear of God, and when that has been done all else in life will become pure and strong, and the relationships of man to man shall be brotherly, helpful, true . . . . . The church's first concern is not the relationship of man to man, but the relationship of man to God, and, therefore, it has no mandate from Christ to study the problems of poverty, or

of unemployment, or of single-roomed houses, or of the relations of capital and labor.

He gives three reasons for this claim: that these questions lie beyond the church's function, as indicated by the example of Jesus; that social betterment will be sooner and more wisely realized through other agencies; and that the distinctive work of the church is the most imperative need of the time.

Without entering into a prolonged argument we may here take enough space to remark that we fully agree with the critic that the *first* commandment is not only faith but also love toward God; that it is the primary function of the church to proclaim this creed; that the highest social service is the awakening of the religious life in the full Christian meaning. But "the *second* commandment is like unto" this first, love to our neighbor, and Jesus spent very much time, energy, and thought on the physical well-being of men, and the Bible in both parts covers every aspect of human duty. Furthermore, on a review of the facts of church history, we are obliged to deny that Christian men have done their human duties and inspired the life of the world without being specifically taught, from childhood up, what duty required. Many thousands of pious people have gone on in flagrant and cruel neglect of

the needs of their fellow-men because their spiritual guides neglected to show them that one cannot obey the first commandment without careful and loyal obedience to the second great commandment. Faith works by love.

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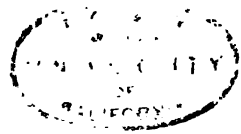

CHAPTER I

GENERAL SURVEY

I. INTRODUCTION

1. *The present situation.*—Many teachers of young men and young women have discovered that religious and moral instruction must be made concrete and practical at the approach of majority. About the sixteenth year the young person becomes conscious of new powers and needs, and often thinks seriously of the responsibilities of husband, wife, citizen, manager of business, parent. The generative, creative impulses irradiate and profoundly influence the entire life. The supreme choices of life must be made at a time when experience and knowledge are still limited. That must be a dull youth who does not in some measure consider what is involved in the selection of a calling, a wife, a political party, a religious creed, associations for business and pleasure, a system of conduct. We notice at this epoch an irritable restlessness, an impatience with introspection, with commonplace homilies, with teaching about ancient ways; for the young man recognizes nothing akin to his problems in much that goes under the name of religious instruction. This impatience is part explanation of the general

exodus from Sunday school at the turn into maturity; not the sole cause, for passion, recklessness, frivolity, untamed animalism, eagerness to be amused, press the more superficial into questionable paths. But many even of the giddy might become interested in a kind of teaching which avoids repetition of traditions and monotonous adherence to consecrated dulness, and which at every lesson suggests a work to be done, organizes useful efforts, and presents the information which is necessary to make effort really useful. It has been discovered that youth who find it simply impossible to follow the fortunes of Saul, Samuel, and Peter for the fiftieth round, will attend regularly where a practical leader compels every member to confront at every lesson some immediate task within his power. A person old enough to choose for himself, and serious enough to do any real thinking, demands science and law, contemporary fact, rather than insipid anecdote and threadbare exhortation. And this demand of youth is unconsciously near to a principle of Christ himself: If any man is willing to do, he shall know. The gate into faith is not dreaming and meditating and analyzing virtues alone, but right and wise action—action which instantly follows the clear call of duty. It is a pity that a good lad should come to associate

Bible instruction with ideas remote from the issues of his own life, when he hears some shrewd politician, or saloon orator, or bright labor leader discuss with fervor and intelligence matters with which he must soon deal. At the moment when the lad acquires liberty, and when constraint has become impossible, he needs more than at any other crisis a mature leader who represents not only amiable sentiments, but reliable knowledge of this world and of modes of activity which offer wholesome channels for the superabundant energy of opening manhood. Not less desirable is the training in reflection and self-restraint which comes from comparing opinions with others. Youth is rash and opinionated, more ready to act than to think, sure of itself, and that because of ignorance of the amazing complexity of social life and its problems.

It is with a view to meeting this situation and helping in the solution of problems thus presented that the series of chapters on "Social Duties," of which this is the first, has been prepared. In this introduction the immediate aim is to give a general survey of the entire field of conduct, and to suggest the breadth of this territory rather than to take up any specific problem for treatment. The articles which follow are intended to furnish some hints for Sunday lessons for

groups of young people who cannot be held together by the conventional methods of teaching the Bible. They will demand serious study and considerable knowledge on the part of the leader. Yet an earnest man with modest equipment of books can accomplish good results, if he will set the entire group at work investigating the questions, reading the books cited, and discussing situations in the neighborhood which are of moral interest and demand moral choices. Local professional men, as physicians, teachers, lawyers, bankers, legislators, labor leaders, may be invited to supplement the other sources of information. Discussion should be encouraged, because the mental effort to shape a question, to state a fact, to urge an argument, has a high educational value.[1]

[1] Professor J. M. Coulter, who has had remarkable success with just such a class as is here contemplated, writes of his experience with discussions: "I have found that in my class, made up of representatives from almost every form of activity, the calling for personal experiences in reference to any problem results not only in interest, but in a contribution of most heterogeneous and contradictory material. This not only provokes discussion, but illustrates the vast difficulty of such subjects, and the necessity of taking many things into consideration before such experiences can be harmonized. This has taught the men the folly of snap-shot judgments, and has made them appreciate that a subject must be investigated with an open mind before any conclusion is worthy of consideration."

The Bible stimulates to right conduct, but does not make study of our own situation unnecessary. Each generation must work out for itself the regulations of its life which correspond to its own conditions of justice and well-being.[2]

These articles will not attempt by hortatory methods to induce the inner and personal dispositions of the Christian character. What is sought is to aid the personal influence of holy teachers by directing motives to suitable expression. The world itself is a witness to God and a field for the training of Christian character. In the pursuit of the right way to do good we find ourselves in near companionship with our Lord. And many a skeptical man has found his way unconsciously back to certainty of faith by becoming interested in some unselfish and Christlike work such as Jesus himself would be doing in the same circumstances. A true Bible class should be something more than a debating club with a merely theoretical and speculative end; it should become responsible for one or more forms of practical service—personal service for the neighborhood and gifts of money for fields too distant for direct labors of members of the class.[3]

The Bible is the supreme spiritual ferment and

[2] See Mackenzie, *Manual of Ethics*, pp. 271, 272.

[3] A few citations from the writings of men of devout life

moral influence in the life of mankind, but it is not, and cannot be made, a code of legislation. It teaches, reproves, corrects, instructs in the quality of righteousness by precept, biography, poetry, and most of all by the story of Jesus; but it does not furnish a substitute for hard study of present duties. Some of the problems on which students of social progress are busy toiling relate to aims, others to institutions through which social ideals are realized, and some to

and spiritual insight into the nature of Christianity may here be suggestive:

"All religion has relation to life, and the life of religion is to do good."—Swedenborg.

"The Christian religion consists in performing worthily the duties we owe to God, our neighbor, and ourselves. Christian religion is plain and easy to understand by all such as are desirous to understand it. The order to be observed in keeping God's commandments: Moral duties, where both cannot, must be observed before positive injunctions; 'I will have mercy and not sacrifice,' saith our Savior. Works of charity before works of piety. Religion of the end—namely, those acts of religion, those virtues, which have an intrinsic goodness in them—before religion of the means, namely, those instrumental duties which are only means of attaining the other."—Bishop Wilson, *Maxims of Piety and Christianity.*

"It is not his [Jesus'] words at all as such, but the morally necessary, that must be obeyed, and his words only in case they mirror the morally necessary for us and in our situation. . . . . We are not confronted with the end of the world but with an infinitude of tasks which the God of nature and of history has set us."—G. B. Foster, *The Finality of the Christian Religion,* pp. 464, 465.

methods of individual action and social co-operation.

2. *The elements of the situation.* (*a*) *Conditions of welfare.*—There are certain social conditions which must be provided by community action and sustained by sentiment, government, and united labor in order that personal character and general welfare may be fostered. These are: liberty for personal initiative, security and order, and opportunity of every member of society to act in the full range of his powers. In the mind of the revolutionist, chafing at hoary tradition and angry with legal wrong, liberty promises all. To the conservative, comfortable in possession of a competence and identified with parties in power, the word "order" has the more attractive sound. To the ambitious proletarian, handicapped by poverty and ignorance, equality seems the goal of endeavor. In a wide view all these conditions of welfare are recognized as legitimate, and all must be harmonized.

b) *Aims of social effort.*—Man is an animal, with all the wants and needs of the animal. He must have food, shelter, recreation, air, light, and all else that gives strength, vigor, ability to act and endure. Since the material world supplies standing-room and the materials and forces through which artist, statesman, theologian, mis-

sionary, and philanthropist make ideals reality, men must harness and utilize nature, by labor and contrivance, by production of goods, and by regulation of division of the product. The physician, the economist, the manufacturer, the merchant, may be inclined to set wealth in too high and exclusive a position; may identify sanitation and commerce with social progress; may scorn ethical and aesthetic elements in the social aim; but no one, not even the most spiritual saint, can deny the necessity for a material basis of life.

But the *ultimate values* of existence are those of thought made systematic and complete in science; of beauty realized in the artistic works of poets, painters, singers, actors, architects, sculptors, orators, and gracious homemakers with their fine feminine touch upon all objects of daily use. In the kindly fellowship of daily intercourse, in the widening sympathies which sweeten contacts, in the stern and austere assertion of righteousness and honesty, and, highest of all, in the reverence and love of man to God, do we come upon the ultimate and self-justifying goods of existence. In the degree in which all these factors of well-being are diffused among men is there social progress. To genius we owe most new beginnings and positive additions to knowledge and beauty and goodness, but only as the race moves

forward to universal possession and enjoyment of all kinds of good can we claim advance in the truest sense. In a clear view of these natural and spiritual values do we discover our definition and our measure of social progress.

c) *Institutions and organizations.*—But these aims are realized only by personal activity in connection with institutions created to facilitate the common enjoyment of the achievements of the best members of the community and the race. Ascending from the most simple to the most extended of social groups, we discover that humanity has produced, in the long past of its evolution, the family, the rural community, the town and city, the commonwealth, the nation, and is now building up, under the name of international law, a system of regulations for the conduct of nations in relations with each other. Within these larger communities, and crossing their lines of division, men have produced voluntary associations for all kinds of purposes, as economic partnerships and companies, educational societies, churches, and extended federations of these, some of them wider than any kingdom or republic. And if we look into any considerable group of persons bound together in a large community, we discover classes or strata of like persons whose attitude to others becomes important in relation

to progress in wealth, health, and culture; as the criminals, the dependents, the industrials, the leisure class, and perhaps others.

One fruitful method of classifying the various forms of social effort which are now occupying the attention and absorbing the energy of students and practical workers is to isolate for the time each group or class in turn, and discover the points at which both thought and labor are being most intensively applied. Only a few illustrations can find room here, and even these might be expanded into an encyclopaedia.

II. PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

1. *The family.*—We begin where life begins, with the *family*. Of recent years the sex and domestic groups have enlisted a vast amount of serious and valuable scientific study on the part of anthropologists, ethnologists, psychologists, physicians, historians, lawyers, and sociologists. Only in the history of origin and development do we come to a full understanding of the foundations of morality in the most vital relation of persons in society. At this moment the whole power of the government of the United States is, for the second time, directed upon a scientific investigation of the extent and causes of divorce, and of the legal methods of regulating this evil,

and the evils which lead to divorce. How helpless the isolated individual is can be made sensible by this undertaking on behalf of the home. Every aspect of marriage and domestic life has significance for religion, righteousness, character, as well as for material well-being. The regulation of courtship, the publicity of announcements, the registration of marriage, and education in the physical and spiritual preparation of youth for marriage, are vital questions, perhaps far more important than divorce itself. On all these problems exegetical science helps a certain way; but common-sense shows that the modern world faces problems which could not even occur to Jesus himself. The scientific and practical problems relating to the protection and improvement of domestic life are of supreme moment: the betterment of the tenement house in cities and rural hygiene for the country; public baths, parks, playgrounds, outings, home libraries, child labor, woman labor, and every effort to improve income, encourage thrift, provide insurance when the bread-winner fails—all these merely suggest the wide field in which the entire power of the nation is required to save and help the most modest household. The National League for the Protection of the Family and the National Child Labor Committee are illustrations of this multiform

activity. Settlements, vacation schools, juvenile courts, "institutional churches" among the poor, associations to protect children from cruelty and neglect, the federation called the National Children's Home Society, and a myriad local societies, are witness to the awakened conscience in relation to family and child-life.

2. *The rural community.*—The beginning of scientific study of the cultural interests of the rural community is only of recent date. Already a splendid literature has grown up concerned with the science and arts of horticulture, agriculture, chemistry of soils, botany and entomology in application to rural industry, the economics of agriculture, markets, wages, leases, and all such matters; but now we are thinking much more of the breeding and education of the people as modified by the conditions of rural existence. The activity of women in rural granges and institutes is earnest of a larger attention given to the aesthetic and sociable aspects of the new studies. The tasks and difficulties and prospects of rural churches are just now attracting attention, all the more because many city people have begun to spend much of their time in the country. The necessity for co-operation between churches to prevent economic starvation, and consequent spiritual bleeding to death, has hastened the decay

of sectarianism and promoted the dissolution of mere doctrine as a basis of ecclesiastical tests and organization. In the selection and education of rural populations state and nation must combine with individuals and voluntary associations. He who advocates mere "individualism" as a remedy for all ills and a solution of problems ignores an essential condition of progress.

3. *The city.*—The problems of *urban* life have received earlier and more general scientific and practical treatment; for in cities the congestion and friction of population have made investigation and action urgent. A few years ago the chief attention was given to the machinery of city governments, and men talked and wrote much of civil-service reform, primary elections, double and single chambers, powers of mayors, charters, and the like. These subjects are still interesting and for a long time to come must be studied, and labor must be consecrated to improve the forms and methods of administration. But greater emphasis is laid at present upon what the people wish to do with all this administrative machinery. How far can local governments go in protection against local monopoly without hindering initiative and retarding experiment? How far are municipal trading and manufacture advisable? What can the urban community do to provide for the

crowded multitudes of operatives fit dwellings, clean streets, open spaces, playgrounds, schools, baths, libraries, museums, lectures, and all the incentives to a life of culture?

4. *The state.*—The *commonwealth* is coming to receive more study and to assume wider functions. Most of the revenues of each state go to education, charity, and repression of crime. The state has not had hitherto a very large field for direct administration of positive measures of social advancement; and even in the future there will be more or less rivalry with the federal government in this matter. As soon as a business or an interest grows large enough for state action, it outgrows state limits and becomes interstate activity, as railroads and insurance. Nevertheless, the doctrine of state rights means state duties, and in workingmen's protection and insurance we see in the immediate future the probability of considerable social enterprise for the state. The co-ordination and improvement of schools depend on extension of state activity, while many local abuses in matters of charity and police must be corrected by that expert supervision and control which only a commonwealth can supply.

5. *The nation.*—It seems ridiculous even to mention so vast a subject as *national* social administration in the brief space now at command; yet

for the sake of the suggestion we may mention the national demand for pure-food laws, meat inspection, and regulation of the costs of transportation. Postal savings banks and parcels post have often been asked for, but the movement has thus far been defeated in this country, apparently by interested commercial cliques. The national Congress and the scientific departments for investigation and publication are among our chief agents of social progress.

6. *International affairs.*—International movements which are worthy of special mention in this connection are those which aim to mitigate the cruelties of battle, to diminish the occasions of war, to determine disputes by judicial process without resort to arms, and the policing of uncivilized parts of the world without exploitation of simple peoples who have not the arms and organization of the favored nations. In this connection should be considered the enterprises of foreign missions, of the circulation of the best literature of Christian culture in Asia and Africa and of the establishment of Christian schools in all parts of the earth.

7. *Dependents and delinquents.*—Some of the social problems which await the instructions of time and study relate to the anti-social or criminal group of the population. Methods of prison

discipline and prison labor and the "indeterminate sentence" occupy the minds of administrators; but such preventive and educational measures as can be applied by the philanthropic public, and which diminish the need for costly penitentiaries, command more sympathy than formerly. This is true also of dealing with dependence in its various aspects. Relief will continue to require the best thought and large sacrifices of the people; but economic, sanitary, and educational improvements will in great measure diminish the resort to charity.

8. *The leisure class.*—We have not yet much discussed the fate and fortunes of the recently developed "leisure class" which has sprung up in the path of a generation of successful men who never knew what leisure meant; while some of their children seem unable to find out its use and opportunity. This is too large a subject for a paragraph of hints.

9. *The industrial group.*—The industrial group has a vitality of its own, and through the trade-union has forced itself upon public notice. The growth of cities is the growth of this group in numbers and political power; and wage-workers are conscious of this power and determined to use it. From the standpoint of the student of economic politics the demand is for means of thrift

and insurance, protection of workingmen against the dangers of accident and disease in employments, prevention of the exploitation of children through premature labor without the advantages of play and school, and the proper regulation of the industries in which women are engaged. Later will come questions of the effect of this new political power among us on art, science, culture, productive processes, morality, and religion.

III. SOCIAL MORALITY

The words "morality" and "immorality" are quite generally used in a very narrow sense, frequently indicating nothing more than observance or non-observance of the rules of sexual propriety. Sometimes even strong writers intimate or distinctly declare that morality has to do only with personal motives of the unseen life of the spirit. In the present work all this is included and much more. It is taken for granted that the requirements of sexual purity are known, and that all good conduct must spring from good motives. In the books on ethics all this has been urged a thousand times. In this series of studies we are to study social morality and social duties. By social morality we mean that kind of conduct of associated persons which, on the whole, tends to promote the common welfare in the entire range

of meaning of the word welfare, as outlined in this first chapter. "By their fruits ye shall know them;" a good tree will bear good fruit, and good conduct will further the common good. We cannot see the inner motives of men; we can see and understand what they do.

Every word in each paragraph of this article suggests reading and effort for many earnest years. Life must be worth living so long as there is so much danger and evil in the world, and splendid opportunity for the men and women who know and love and have faith in God. In subsequent articles suggestions will be made for serious study of some of these problems by Bible classes of youth and mature persons.

> The common problem, yours, mine, everyone's,
> Is—not to fancy what were fair in life
> Provided it could be,—but, finding first
> What may be, then find how to make it fair
> Up to our means. . . .
> Make Paradise of London if you can.
>
> —R. Browning, *Bishop Bloughram's Apology.*

SUGGESTIONS TO TEACHERS

The following suggestions are intended for the use of teachers who use this chapter as an introductory lesson with a class which is gathered with the purpose to pursue the general subject during the year at stated times.

1. The selected leader or teacher should ask each member of the class to give him at once written statements

of social problems, or moral difficulties arising in his occupation and other experiences; of temptations which must be overcome; of subjects on which good men are of divided opinion in situations where action of some kind is urgent and necessary.

2. For several meetings close attention should be given to social aims. Aimless study and teaching is like the blind leading the blind. The captain of a ship directs the prow of his vessel toward the port he would reach. What do men desire? What is of most worth and value? What is proper to seek as means, and what is supremely valuable as end of life itself? Some hints are given in this article, but each person should strive to set before himself his own goals and criticize them, test them, and try to fix his purpose and effort on objects according to some scale of reasonable value. Riches are good, but are they good enough to buy at the price of honesty, purity, health, and religion? Learning is good, and a college education is desirable; but would we praise a young man who left his aged mother to starve while he went to the university? Turn these questions over in all thinkable ways, and start similar problems.

3. Discuss the use to the community of various familiar institutions, offices, and private enterprises; as, for example, the courts of the county, the jail, the school, the township trustee, various laws, an insurance company, a bank, a collection of books and pictures, a church.

While the leader must not permit the discussion to degenerate into idle gossip and speculation about things not practical, he should not discourage honest and sincere, even if awkward, attempts to enter into the study. If a rather irrevelant subject seems to be dragged in by the ears, and there is no time to consider it, let it be set

down for future notice. If some cranky person insists upon monopolizing time by long-winded speeches, the leader may announce a five-minute rule which must not be trespassed without vote of the class. Even cranky people with hobbies to ride sometimes serve a useful purpose in stirring up thought. The leader must not be dogmatic, or he ceases to be a teacher. The object is not to settle complex questions, but to educate, instruct, inspire, and find right ways of doing useful actions. It is not well to bring questions to a vote of the class, for this makes every speaker more a debater for personal victory than a seeker after truth and duty. If all sides have been heard, no harm is done if the members of the class part to think over the whole discussion each for himself. These chapters are to be used as fraternal helps, and are not for slavish imitation. When a topic is of living interest to the class, then is the time to discuss it. Local events, tragedies of ignorance and sin, may furnish the best starting-points for a new lesson.

4. It is not necessary that the lessons in this book should be studied in the exact order in which they are printed. If the leaders discover a very great local interest in a certain subject it may be taken up at once. Yet the book should be read carefully from the beginning to end by all the class as soon as possible, because in the earlier chapters fundamental principles are discussed, the whole programme is outlined and explained, and the lessons proceed from narrower and simpler conditions to larger, more complex, and intricate problems.

REFERENCES TO LITERATURE

The following books are recommended in the *A. L. A. Catalogue,* a list of books published for the American

Library Association by the Library of Congress, in 1904. That catalogue may be found generally in libraries. Only a few titles of popular works can here be mentioned.

J. S. Mackenzie, *Manual of Ethics.*

Charles Wagner, *Youth* and *Courage.*

Small and Vincent, *Introduction to the Study of Society.*

C. D. Wright, *Outline of Practical Sociology.*

F. H. Giddings, *Elements of Sociology.*

The same catalogue recommends C. R. Henderson, *Social Spirit in America,* and *Social Elements.*

The *Encyclopaedia of Reforms,* edited by W. D. P. Bliss (new ed., 1908), published by Funk & Wagnalls Co., will be found convenient. It contains brief articles on many aspects of social duties, and furnishes many useful references for further reading.

J. Dewey and J. H. Tufts, *Ethics,* is a very important recent work on the subject.

All the above are of a general character; in the succeeding articles books will be mentioned for each special subject.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL DUTIES RELATING TO THE FAMILY

I. COURTSHIP

1. *The scope and purpose of this section.*—It is impossible for any one person, especially in a brief discussion, to bring to light all possible facts in respect to any particular institution of society. All that we can attempt is to induce groups of earnest, thinking people to observe and reflect, and to take into account, in forming their moral judgments, all the essential elements of a situation which should have influence on the conduct of individuals and communities. Social conduct is shown, not only in formal laws passed by legislatures and enforced in courts, but also in customs, manners, fashions, language, rules of discipline in churches, standards for receiving and rejecting persons from social circles, and even in gestures and facial expression.

In this study of the family, and in all the later chapters, it is taken for granted that piety, love, sympathy, purity, devotion, self-sacrifice, veracity, courage, temperance, as qualities of individual character, are recognized as supreme goods to be cultivated and sought. To perfect the spirit, or rather to give it perpetual impulse to expand in

every right direction, is the end and aim of all right conduct.

What we have here to study is the situation and conduct which are favorable or unfavorable to the progress of the best life of each person, and so also the regulations which public opinion and law ought to lay down for the actions of young people in a critical period of life.

2. *The customs of courtship.*—In our time and country this part of conduct is left very free to young people, and this gives all the more reason for teaching young people what is the meaning of courtship, what are its ends and dangers, and what duties are involved.

The first step is to set before the mind of all concerned, and that at a very early period, the facts relating to the subject; for adolescence is full of illusions, delusions, fancies, errors, dreams, and confusion. Plain language rather than sentimentalism is at once most pure and most helpful. Briefly stated, some of the vital considerations are such as these: With the rise of sex-feeling, persons of both sexes are drawn to each other by an influence they did not feel in the earlier years of childhood, and at first they do not know what the new force means. The fact that sex-appetite awakens before knowledge of consequences is a peril of youth, and calls for careful instruction

by parents, teachers, and physicians. From the accidental meetings of youth friendships arise which may hallow or blight all subsequent life. Girls and boys of early youth are alternately attracted and repelled, and instinct is a fallible guide. It is the moment when mere childish innocence must be armed with information as to the significance of sex; its moral possibilities of honor and good, its dangers of shame and sin. Friendship in a widening circle will not be hindered, and its freedom will be all the larger and finer because the danger is known and guarded against. Out of the circle of friends and companions of youth, in most cases, young men will finally select their wives and seek to win them. Courtship therefore belongs to the period in which the fortunes of marriage and the family are in a great degree decided.

3. *The dignity of courtship.*—Courtship is a recognition of the freedom and personal rights of woman; for where marriage is decided by force, or where the wife is bought from the parents like a cow, or where she is compelled to marry to secure a fortune from a rich fool, there her personality is not respected. Compulsory marriage is a mark of low civilization, and in fashionable society there is sometimes a return to barbarism. The offer of a title as purchase price

of youth and wealth is on this level of a lower and earlier stage of culture. Our ancestors sold and bought wives openly and without shame; perhaps we may still observe what historians and naturalists call survivals. There is a nobler way.

Tennyson has painted for us the fine picture of King Arthur who at his Table Round gathered the young knights and made them lay their hands in his and swear—

> To lead sweet lives in purest chastity,
> To love one maiden only, cleave to her,
> And worship her by years of noble deeds,
> Until they won her; for indeed I know
> Of no more subtle master under heaven
> Than is a maiden passion for a maid,
> Not only to keep down the base in man,
> But teach high thought, and amiable words,
> And courtliness, and the desire of fame,
> And love of truth, and all that makes a man.

Young persons of both sexes should be taught, for they will not otherwise duly think of it, that the conscious effort of a young man to win a young woman in courtship is a step toward marriage, the union of one man to one woman for life, with a prospect of rearing children. Many a merry hour may properly be passed in the genial society of others without any purpose of marriage; but courtship, if it is honest, upright, Christian, is a series of acts intended to end in the

establishment of a family. If it is not that, it is false, cruel, selfish, and must end in sorrow of some degree and kind, perhaps in tragedy.

4. *Errors and sins of courtship.*—In the light of the facts and of the ideal of courtship, one can judge certain kinds of conduct which are only too common, although they are not always adopted with a deliberate purpose to injure or deceive. "Flirting" is a too familiar mode of attracting attention and winning love, perhaps only to cast it aside. The cruelty of insincere encouragement to declarations of love, whether by man or woman, is unspeakable. Why should a sacred tree be planted and made to grow until its form is necessary to the mind and its roots are deep in the earth, only to pluck it up, bleeding away its life, and leave it to perish? Is there anything honorable in the boast of "conquests"?

"Falling in love" is sometimes praised as a virtue, and often considered natural and harmless. And it is not to be denied that the mutual admiration by which two young persons are sometimes at their first meeting suddenly and strongly attracted to one another may be the beginning of a pure and permanent love. But such attraction must be something more than a passing fancy and have some better basis than physical attractiveness or sensual passion. For "love" that is

worthy of the name is not a sudden flame of sense, but an unselfish principle of devotion, a serious act of consecration. It is a pity that the sacred word which we use as a synonym of religious union with God should frequently be employed to designate the acts of vice or the impetuous outburst of animal appetite. This confusion of language tends to confuse thought and conduct to blind, impulsive action.

True, rational Christian love in married persons includes a solemn purpose to perform the duties of marriage, and to endure its trials in view of the importance of marriage to society. A proverb condenses in a brief phrase the wisdom of ages: "Marry in haste and you will repent at leisure."

Extravagance during the time of courtship may be checked by sensible girls. It may not be wise for a young man to seek the companionship of a woman whose demands upon his purse are more than he can honestly meet. Not seldom are moral lapses in business due to the temptation of young men intrusted with money to use what does not belong to them in purchasing flowers, paying for carriage hire, and other expenses, while in pursuit of a wife. Without attempting to answer them, we may start these inquiries: Why should a girl accept costly presents from one who is not her husband? Is it not questionable taste? Is it not

something akin to begging? Does a wise woman like to think that she is being hired with money to give her love?

How young people should conduct themselves during the period of courtship, after the promise of marriage, is a problem to which too little careful thought has been given. It ought to be seriously considered by parents, teachers, and young people who value purity, unspotted reputation, and religious obligation. Engaged persons have made a serious vow, and ordinarily they should hold themselves to keep it unless there is strong reason for breaking off the relation. But engagement is not actual marriage, in reality, morals, or law. Not involving the duties of marriage, it cannot give the rights of marriage. In some countries engagement is often regarded as equivalent to marriage, especially among workingmen in crowded tenements; and this leads to many scandals and liberties, from which the woman suffers most of the evil without having legal protection. Jonathan Edwards, the Puritan leader of New England, found it necessary to protest against the too great familiarities of young people common in his day, when sin was committed under the promise of marriage.

In all literature there is not a more beautiful and pure speech of a wise father to a prospective

son-in-law than that in Shakespeare's *Tempest* where Prospero addresses the lover of his own daughter, the beautiful Miranda:

> For I
> Have given you here a thread of mine own life,
> Or that for which I live. . . . .
> Then, as my gift, and thine own acquisition
> Worthily purchased, take my daughter; but
> If thou dost break her virgin knot before
> All sanctimonious ceremonies may
> With full and holy rite be ministered,
> No sweet aspersion shall the heavens let fall
> To make this contract grow; but barren hate,
> Sour-eyed disdain, and discord. . . . .
> Therefore, take heed
> As Hymen's lamps shall light you.
> Look, thou be true, do not give dalliance
> Too much the rein; the strongest oaths are straw
> To the fire in the blood; be more abstemious,
> Or else, good night, your vow!

Modesty and dignity do not dampen strong affection, but make the light burn brighter into old age.

5. *The value of courtship.*—The period of courtship is an opportunity for discrimination, selection, reason. Hence it should not begin too early in life. Sometimes a temporary time of separation, for reflection and comparison, with change of scene, may help the young people to make the lifetime decision with greater wisdom.

The conclusion of this period is but a new beginning. "Love" has illusions; for it idealizes its object; it transforms the shallow, pretty girl into a creature of majesty and character; it causes the mean scamp to loom up in the brilliant fancy of a girl in a mist magnified a thousand diameters of moral greatness. In the *Midsummer Night's Dream* the great dramatist has pictured a queen, under the spell of a magic potion, admiring a donkey and praising its long ears—a satirical hint of the deception which young people sometimes practice on themselves. The lover, "of imagination all compact," "sees Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt;" the black Moor seems white to Desdemona.

Courtship is made all the more frivolous by the current mode of speaking and thinking of divorce. If marriage can be lightly dissolved, then a mistake in selecting a wife or accepting a husband, it is imagined, will not prove very serious. But a courtship which does not mean fidelity for life is like a rose with a worm eating out its heart, like a tree growing in scant soil. The very idea of divorce, covert under all the outward protestations of undying devotion, not only endangers the stability of marriage, but degrades courtship itself and turns the solemn vows of lovers into a heartless hypocrisy. A tacit lie lurks in every word of

affection, and robs the happiest and sweetest moment of all the fresh bloom of sentiment. The very phrase "trial marriages," recently made popular, is rank poison. Marriages of criminals are all "trial marriages," as those of brutes and savages are. Even a hint of descending to those nether regions for a rule of life is a disgrace and a degradation.

In the stage of courtship wise and good young women have great educational power. Let us have one generation of young women sensible and self-possessed enough to think and to reject from all friendly companionship young men who are intemperate, unclean, guilty of "sowing wild oats," profane, coarse; and the next generation, if not so numerous, would reflect more luster on the republic. The woman who marries a man to reform him has taken a viper to warm at her heart. The son of a millionaire is likely to imagine that he need not be virtuous because he can gain the hand of a good woman on account of his riches. The divorce courts are witnesses of tragedies arising from such blunders on both sides. Alimony is a poor substitute for the happiness of a rational marriage.

6. *Preparation needed for marriage.*—Honest courtship, the offer and acceptance of a friendship which means marriage, should lead young persons

to prepare for marriage. For the young woman this means in addition to the modesty, purity, and chastity which every wise mother teaches her daughter and casts about her as an angelic mantle of protection, an acquisition of the knowledge and training of a home-maker. This part of the preparation includes all possible general culture which makes a woman capable of sympathizing through a long life with the broad industrial, economic, and political interests of a man; it includes all possible acquaintance with literature and art which may give rational, worthy, and inspiring diversion and recreation to minds worried and wearied with monotonous grind and rasping contacts; it means the power to keep a house wholesome, clean, tidy with a touch of beauty, and not exceed the income of the man; it includes the knowledge and the training which are necessary to feed and care for the infant and young child, the normal issue of a marriage formed for social ends. If all this can be learned, in theory and practice, at home, it may be well; but ordinarily the help of schools, classes, and expert instruction will be required in order to secure the best results.

The preparation of a young man for marriage must be of body, mind, spirit. He must be prepared to earn an income sufficient to support a wife and children. Personally he should be free,

and should furnish reasonable proof from the family physician, to the father of his fiancée, or, if the father is dead, to her mother, that he is free from all forms of communicable disease. Some day this may be demanded by law, when the general public becomes aware of the frightful ravages of venereal and other contagious and hereditary diseases, and acquires the moral courage to apply an effective legal remedy. But until that law comes, and as one means of hastening its coming, every upright and sensible man will use his best effort to enforce such a requirement by every means of instruction, persuasion, and influence.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. What are the customs of courtship in the locality and community? What is faulty in them?

2. Has the church any rule of discipline on the subject?

3. Does the law of the state offer any regulation of the social relations of the sexes previous to marriage? What immoral acts are forbidden by law, under penalties?

4. Can anything be done by the class to produce a purer, more sober, and rational custom in the neighborhood? How can rakes be frowned out of decent society?

5. Would a fashion of "chaperonage" be advisable?

6. What aspects of the problem, not touched in the lesson text, are worthy of consideration? What important facts are omitted? Send notice of serious omissions to the writer of these lessons.

REFERENCES TO LITERATURE

Information which should be given to young persons in regard to the anatomy, physiology, dangers, diseases, hygiene, and duties relating to sex.

G. S. Hall, *Adolescence,* Vol. I, pp. 463–71. President Hall complains that nearly all the books published hitherto are too long and contain too many suggestive, exciting, and morbid details. He has published (D. Appleton & Co.) a smaller work entitled *Youth.*

Charles Wagner, *Youth* (*La jeunesse*).

As this is the period when the care of health and strength becomes the duty and the charge of youth, the school studies of physiology and hygiene may be continued by reading substantial books, as:

Martin, *The Human Body,* or

Harrington, *Practical Hygiene.*

For young men: Winfield S. Hall, *The Biology, Physiology and Sociology of Reproduction.*

Publications of the Chicago Society of Social Hygiene, and of the New York Society of Moral Prophylaxis.

C. R. Henderson, *Yearbook of National Society for the Scientific Study of Education,* 1909 ("Education with Reference to Sex"); for teachers and parents.

II. MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

1. *Presuppositions of this discussion.*—It is taken for granted throughout these studies that the student is making himself familiar with the teaching of the Bible on each topic and giving them reverent heed. On the subject of marriage and the family we have conflicting pictures and customs; the polygamic family of the patriarch

Abraham, the permission of divorce in the laws of the Hebrews, the apparent prohibition of divorce by Jesus, the criticism of Paul that marriage is a kind of inferior moral state over against his almost sacramental view of the institution as a symbol of spiritual union with God. We are not attempting here to make a biblical study,[1] but rather to look straight at marriage as a present-day social fact, and to discover what conduct is required in view of the entire situation. After directing attention to a few of many important considerations the class will be asked to think of others and endeavor to weigh them.

2. *Definition of marriage.*—Marriage in our time and land is the voluntary union of one man and one woman for life-companionship. It is assumed that both parties are old enough to understand their act; that there is no compulsion of either; that they are physically and mentally fit for marriage. These conditions do not always exist, but they are regarded in our country as necessary to a right marriage. That which public opinion generally approves as best has been in

[1] Good helps in this field are afforded, and references supplied, by the reverent and earnest book, *Social Significance of the Teachings of Jesus,* by Jeremiah W. Jenks, 1907. On this special subject of the biblical teaching on marriage and divorce, see the article of Professor E. D. Burton in the *Biblical World,* February and March, 1907.

varying degree expressed in the laws of states and the interpretations of courts.

The legal definition of marriage is based on the social belief that certain actions, habits, and customs are necessary for the common welfare, and the definition already given to describe the customary thought is substantially that which we find in laws. Marriage legally begins with a voluntary act of both parties to the contract; but after that act the union cannot legally be dissolved without the permission of the proper judicial authorities. The lawyers say that marriage begins with a free act, but that it becomes a "status." The social reasons for this will appear. From most contracts the parties may be freed simply by mutual consent, and ordinary business partnerships may be dissolved by agreement in private and without notice to others. But marriage is a legal contract like no other. There are a few eccentric persons who declare that marriage ought to end at any time when both members of the union agree to have the relation end; and their reasoning is specious. We can answer them best by showing what are the consequences of marriage—how far-reaching, enduring and profound; that these consequences are not merely personal and private, but also social and affect the entire community in all its interests.

3. *Effects of marriage—economic.*—What are some of the effects of the marriage union? First of all there is at once a mutual interest in the work and business which are to furnish support for the family formed in marriage. The labor or business activity of a man has for its purpose, not merely his own support, but that of his wife and children. "Self-support" includes maintenance of wife, children, and the aged or infirm. Leaving out of account a comparatively few persons who have inherited estates and can live without work, the vast majority of men must receive for the service they render to society return enough to maintain one, two, or more other persons. When the employer pays a workman, he must on the average include enough to support parents and young children. When a farmer tills the soil, he wins a product for the support of the entire family. If wife and children help in the labor, the reward must go to a common fund in which all share according to their needs. Property in lands, machinery, merchandise, railroads, and all else is essentially family property. When a man dies, he usually gives his accumulated wealth in parts to his widow and children and nearest family relatives. All the results of savings, effort, thrift, and commerce flow to the family.

An important modification of this statement must be made in respect to those great fortunes which fall into the hands of a very few fortunate masters of industry and commerce, and which are not in any proper sense earned by the owners, but which are built up largely by the services and sacrifices of all industrious members of a community. In such cases, even when the acquisition has not been promoted by fraud and oppression, the duty to share the wealth with the entire community, and not to leave it all to the family who have done nothing to earn it, has come to be recognized in large gifts and legacies to public uses, in inheritance taxes, and in the moral demands of enlightened teachers of morality. But even in these exceptional cases all admit that the family has the first claim.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie has clearly and explicitly taught the world, by books and by action, that accumulated wealth, after the family is reasonably provided for, is morally, if not legally, public property and should be redistributed as community wealth. The amazing gifts of other owners of colossal fortunes are sometimes accompanied by a modest and high-minded confession that the gift was a recognition of the common ownership of exceptional wealth and of the stewardship of all possessions. This does not imply

a confession that fraud or other conscious injustice was a part factor in the acquisition.

4. *Effects of marriage on health.*—Usually the health of the members of the little community depends on the conduct of that circle. The preparation of food, the proper care of the household, the condition of the place of rest, the recreations, the social atmosphere of the residence, are factors bearing on vitality and industrial efficiency. The health or sickness of a child is a factor in the welfare of the commonwealth and nation, as President Roosevelt has wisely and strongly insisted. When parents act in a way to jeopardize the physical well-being of each other or their offspring, the national life bleeds from one of its arteries.

5. *Sociable needs.*—The satisfactions of the desire for companionship are in great measure dependent on the home. Husband and wife are companions on most intimate terms and with a great variety of undivided interests. Suspicion and distrust can be endured between persons who live at a distance, but they make purgatory where human beings must occupy the same rooms and eat daily at the same table. One can let the neighbor churl pass him with his surly mien and hard salute or averted eye, but in the home even a slight is felt as a dagger's thrust. The social virtues,

which are so necessary to the comfort and happiness of a community, are cultivated, if at all, in the home.

In this connection should be studied the effects of all kinds of limited-marriage schemes, every one of which, however cunningly disguised under specious phrases, is a return toward savage and animal unions. Among animals, and even among some of the lower races of men, with their frequent marital changes, physical modesty is rudimentary or unknown. Modesty has been developed as a protection to chastity, purity, and health. The tendency of frequent and easy divorce, or even of indulgence of a thought of the possibility of divorce and remarriage while a spouse is living, is to brutalize both man and woman. Monogamous marriage tends, if permanent, to cultivate and refine that modesty which stands with flaming sword to guard the paradise of chastity. Mrs. Browning's expression is none too strong, that "God is sad in heaven" when he sees how "all our towns make offal" of our daughters. Prostitution, which is a return in extreme form to the casual sexual relations of brutes, causes not only the spread of loathsome physical disease among guilty and innocent alike, even to the third generation, but it transforms the guilty into cynical skeptics in regard to the very

possibility of clean living. What must be the insidious paralysis of the finest feelings of manhood and womanhood to meet in street and assembly a number of previous consorts still living!

6. *Birth of children.*—Normally and naturally the consequence of marriage is the birth of children. It is this which seems to historical students to have first created the family,[2] and family life is always incomplete without children. Children are for a long time dependent on adults for physical care and support, and for education. Who are required by the facts of life to provide this maintenance and fitness for existence? The central and decisive fact here is that both father and mother, having entered marriage by free contract, and having agreed to perform the duties of that relation, are the sole persons responsible

[2] Numerous studies of domestic groups of primitive races of men seem to indicate that the earliest permanent groups were of mother and child, the father having little to do with them after the child is born. But the very helplessness of infant and often of mother gradually compacted and cemented the union. A temporary sexual union is not a family in any true sense, and hence it seems none too much to say that "the child created the family." It is interesting to note, as a result of recent statistical studies of vast numbers of families, that those marriages which produce children tend to be more permanent than childless marriages. (See Henry Drummond, *The Ascent of Man.*)

for the entrance of the child into life. It is in accordance with this fact that our civilization, by custom, sentiment, and law, requires both father and mother to carry this burden.

What would be the consequence of permitting parents to desert their children and cast the burden of support on others? The first result would be that infant mortality would be frightfully increased; for we already have enough such cases to teach us that a mother who abandons her babe or refuses to give it nature's food, greatly increases its chance of death, no matter what may be done by others. The effect on mother and father of desertion of children is disastrous both to physical health and to character. Parents need the children for their own sake as truly as children need parents, though not in the same way. Nature has provided instincts of affection in adults so that, when a babe is born, these affections begin to develop in all normal and healthy persons. Unless impeded by false and artificial conditions, ideas, and customs, parental love grows with the child and provides for it without legal pressure. The conduct and character of parents are the earliest and most essential factors of the education of the child. This point requires special discussion at another time; its importance cannot be over-estimated. Children are imitative

and their affection and respect induce them first of all to imitate their own parents.

The support and education of children by the family is a public and not a merely private concern. If the little ones are left by parents to starve, then the country loses its laborers and citizens; and if they are fed at public expense, then some persons must carry an unjust part of the burden. The expenses of the public for charity are already enormous, and much of this is due to neglect of children by unfit parents. If the children grow up ignorant, dishonest, thievish, feeble, lying, unclean, diseased, obscene, profane, they are pests in the community. While the family has a private life of its own, the whole community has an interest in its permanence, its purity, and its morality, and must insist that the family perform its task faithfully.

7. *Social action to defend social welfare.*— Since personal advice is inadequate here, the community is compelled to find a method of social action which will protect the public interest. Public teaching, church discipline, social criticism, newspaper publicity, are among the ways in which society secures obedience to its requirement that parents must maintain and properly educate their own offspring. But where such means fail, more severe and forceful measures are adopted. In

some states the parents are made to appear before the judge of the juvenile court, if they have by negligence contributed to the misery or immorality of a child, and they are punished if they refuse to perform their duty to the utmost limit of their ability. If through ill-health and poverty they cannot provide for the physical and moral needs of the children, private and public charity are called upon to assist.

Divorce laws rest upon this fact, that the conduct of married persons, especially where children are involved, is a public and not a merely private concern. If a man could desert his wife at any moment he pleased, the result would frequently be cruelty to the woman. She might be abandoned at the hour when she became burdened with the care of a child of which the deserting husband is father. This would mean either that an excessive load would be cast upon her in a time of helplessness, or that neighbors should work to support one who ought to have been cared for by her husband.

As marriage has consequences of public interest, and ill-advised marriage carries with it results of the greatest injury to the community, it is the right and duty of the community to surround it with all necessary safeguards to prevent such marriages and to secure that only they marry who

are fitted to enter into this relation. "Easy marriage," for which many clamor, is the fruitful source of endless evils. Among the safeguards against unwise marriage none perhaps is more effective or salutary than publicity, through the requirement that no marriage shall be entered into without due public notice. This notice has in some lands and times been given by announcements in the church for several weeks before the wedding ceremony, by publication in print, by registration in a public office. Secret marriages frequently end in misery and shame. Designing and unscrupulous men often induce ignorant and foolish girls to marry them, only to find that the men have already been married several times and have deserted their wives in the hour of extreme need. An immoral young man will sometimes persuade a girl to elope with him secretly, because he knows that, if the event were public, his true character would be exposed and the woman would refuse him. This publication should be given some weeks before the wedding, in order to give time for all necessary inquiries and for suitable reflection. The consequences of marriage are so serious and complex that it should be preceded by full knowledge and abundant time for consideration.

Much can be said for the plan of having the

same county officer act as the authority to issue licenses, for performing the act of legal recognition, and for registration of the marriage. At present many marriages are performed in secret, without previous publicity, and ministers often forget or neglect to have the celebration registered afterward. A civil marriage should be the only legal essential in forming the union, but parties would still be free to have a more solemn celebration at home or in church, with all the ceremonies and sacred associations which are customary and hallowed.

In this view a minister would not have any of the rights or obligations of a civil officer; and in a country where church and state are separate, as with us, this seems logical and proper. A minister frequently feels obliged to refuse to solemnize a marriage even when the parties come to him with the license of the state, on the ground that one of them has been improperly divorced. But, if he is a state officer, it does not seem proper for him thus to refuse to honor the document issued by the state; he seems to reflect upon that same law-making power under which he accepts a public office.

8. *Attitude of the church to divorce.*—The church is not obliged to accept the divorce pronounced by the courts of a state as final and

satisfactory. For example, a divorced man who has married while the first wife lives may ask for membership in a church on the ground that he has been legally divorced from this former wife. But many things are legal which are not moral, much less on a level with the morality required for membership in a church. On the other hand, the church cannot insist that its rule should be made the law of the commonwealth. It may be that divorce is civilly desirable, "for the hardness of their hearts," to prevent worse evils, while not moral according to the standards of conduct set up for themselves by religious men. The law permits and countenances many acts which a person of high honor will not permit himself, nor countenance in his familiar associates.

Some legal provision must evidently be made for the protection of married persons to whom the marriage itself was a wrong. Thus the law very properly annuls the marriage of a young child who is in development of body and mind utterly unfit. The law rightly releases a woman from the legal control of a man who gained her consent to marriage by base and brutal concealment of some physical imperfection or loathsome disease. Probably it would have been still better to provide legal methods of preventing such marriages in the beginning; but annulment of the

marriage is under such conditions a partial remedy. An innocent woman ought to have the help of a court to release her from any legal control of a man who after marriage becomes cruel and dangerous through low vice and inveterate habits of drunkenness or use of drugs. It is sometimes the duty of a woman, especially when the life, health, and morals of her children are at stake, to make use of the legal protection offered by the courts.

After all this has been said, many personal problems will remain for which no law can be framed. If a woman should secure protection from a vicious husband by a divorce, should she, as a Christian woman, regard herself at liberty to marry again? Or should she endure her cross and try to save her husband by long-suffering patience? In a similar situation, what is the duty of a man? There is the story of Hosea, used as a parable of the amazing pity of God to sinners. There are the teachings of Jesus, never intended for enactment into law to be enforced by penalties. We come here upon one of those questions which cannot be answered in a legalistic temper by a rule imposed from without. In the spirit of Jesus the individual must decide for himself and cast his burden on the Almighty, praying for help to know and do that which is highest and most worthy.

9. *The duty of kindness.*—In the Scriptures wives and husbands are commanded, and in the ancient English marriage service they promise to "love" each the other. It is sometimes asserted that no person can honestly promise in advance either to obey or to love another person, and their argument is plausible. It is impossible to know many years in advance whether it will be right to "obey" a human being, or whether affection can be commanded at will under circumstances yet unknown. What is possible and also reasonable is that married people can show kindness and faithfulness, can endure and sacrifice; then if affection and respect are possible they will arise naturally. We can school ourselves to act upon principle, to endure in silence, to put forth our best endeavor to win the heart and purify the character of child or parent or spouse, even in return for contempt, insult, and injustice. In this sense we can even learn to "love" our enemies, and in multitudes of instances evil has been overcome by goodness, the jealous and bitter soul has been ennobled and made worthy of respect and attraction by grateful and responsive conduct. In this sense of the word "love," it can be commanded as a duty and can be promised in all honesty. Kindness does not, however, require either child or parent or spouse to

continue in a legal status which promises nothing but persistent meanness in the party which is in the wrong.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. What is the law of marriage in your own state?
2. What license is required, and how is it obtained?
3. What record is made of marriages in the county? Have a member of the class ask the registering clerk of the county how many marriages are not recorded, and how he knows. Ask him how many ministers and others officiating neglect to return certificates for record.
4. What persons and officials are authorized to perform the legal ceremony?
5. What are the advantages of a public religious ceremony?
6. On what grounds can a man or woman obtain a divorce in your state?
7. What reasons are given in ordinary society for permitting divorce on each of these grounds? What do you think of these reasons?

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C. F. and C. F. B. Thwing, *The Family*—a historical and social study.

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publishing a special report on *Marriage and Divorce*, (1867–1906)—an exceedingly useful work.

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CHAPTER III

SOCIAL DUTIES RELATING TO MATERIAL CONDITIONS OF FAMILY LIFE

In the first chapter we considered the objects of social life in general, and we have seen that human beings cannot advance in culture without a sufficient supply of food, clothing, and other goods necessary to maintain the body. We are now to take up these material conditions of the higher life and discover how a community ought to act in relation to these facts.

I. THE MINIMUM STANDARD OF SOCIAL DUTY

There is a very common and traditional belief that the income of a family of a workingman should be measured by what its bread-winner can earn in the competitive labor market. The "law of supply and demand" which actually fixes wages like the price of wheat or meat, is treated as a part of the moral law, the will of God, or the decision of fate, and any attempt to seek any other basis is regarded as a foolish and futile struggle with dark destiny, or as an impious attempt to circumvent Providence. Stripped of all ornament, this theory means that whatever is, is right. This belief is rarely questioned among those who are successful, and the prosperous are inclined to seek

in vice or idleness the only sources of failure to provide support. If a laborer cannot earn income enough to give his family decent means of subsistence, he is despised or pitied for his weakness, or coldly rebuked for his incompetence or wrongdoing. Job on his heap of ashes still finds himself surrounded with "comforters" who have a ready explanation of extreme poverty in sin. If the wages which are actually paid as a result of the competition of employers and employees with each other in the labor market are the proper measure of what ought to be paid, then we have no right to inquire further for social duty; the "going rate" is the precise measure of social duty.

There is another and very different view which is gaining a hearing in the modern world: that society ought to discover the cost of living a reasonable human life in a certain time and area, and make that cost the minimum standard of income for a faithful and competent workman. According to this view, those who can earn more than this lowest measure would be permitted to do so, and all would be encouraged to become as efficient as possible. Nor may this idea of a legal minimum standard of wages, foreign as it is to our customary thought, be rejected without examination, even if we do not see clearly as yet the particular methods by which the principle can be

applied in practice. It may be suggested even now that the traditional doctrine is modified by the practice of poor-relief, since each community admits that it is under moral obligation not to permit the means of living to fall below a defined level. And even in business many employers will admit that they must as far as possible modify the rate of wages somewhat by the cost of living. We shall see later what this implies.

What *elements* must enter into the minimum standard of family support? It is not difficult to answer this part of the question. In every civilized country, in every part of each land, in town and in rural communities, certain things are necessary to the life of moral beings. These things may be roughly classified under the heads: food and drink, shelter, clothing, light and fuel, furniture and furnishings, means of transportation (car-fares), provision for sickness and accidents, dental, surgical, and other care of health, recreation, and incidental but unavoidable expenses. In order that these material means may be continuously supplied even during periods when the bread-winner cannot work and earn, as in sickness, unemployment, and old age, there must be some kind of a savings or insurance fund. Not one of these elements can be left out; and, if any one is omitted, life ceases, or degrading alms must

eke out the income. When some of these factors are wanting or inadequately supplied, we discover slow wasting of strength, lowered vitality and industrial efficiency, high rate of mortality among infants, and reduction of expenditures for spiritual culture. The stunted children in such homes are excluded from school and shop, and turn mendicants or thieves. Ultimately society pays heavily for its denial of a primal duty, and cannot escape its punishment. Nature sends in a bill, and has its own way of collecting interest and principal. In the list just given nothing is included for artistic enjoyments, for education, for religion, for participation in philanthropic and political activities, but only what is absolutely necessary to supply animal wants, give strength for common labor, and keep up the reproduction of labor force by supporting children. Of preparation of good citizens fit to take part in electing representatives in government, and passing judgment on measures influenced by votes, no account is taken; but such elements must be included, if our republican institutions are to continue. Men living on the animal level will inevitably descend to brute conditions.

Can we *measure the cost* of these necessary means of family life? This is not an easy task, but harder problems have been solved. We must

indicate a way of studying this part of our problem. Let the following facts of the situation be considered: The material means of existence will vary in quantity and cost with the size of family, the price of commodities in the community studied, with the fluctuations of prices in different years and seasons. General averages for the whole country are of little value; we must study the cost of living in each community. With this information before us, we can readily calculate the wages which must be paid in a particular community to maintain existence, working capacity, children, and the higher forces of civilization. Several attempts have been made, with some success, in the cities of this country to discover the actual cost of the items mentioned in the list already given. In this quest charity workers among the poor and visitors of churches have rendered valuable service. But only trained officers of the state, having public authority, can make these investigations thoroughly and at frequent and regular intervals. The first social duty is then to secure the establishment of boards having the legal right and duty to furnish the community with a minimum standard of the cost of living, which standard is found by analysis of the prices of goods in the market and the actual expenditures of many families that are barely able

to support themselves without depending on poor-relief.

Some of the estimates made by careful observers may be cited as illustration of local conditions. Thus Dr. E. T. Devine said:

> Recognizing the tentative character of such an estimate, it may be worth while to record the opinion that in New York City, where rentals and provisions are, perhaps, more expensive than in any other large city, for an average family of five persons the minimum income on which it is practicable to remain self-supporting, and to maintain any approach to a decent standard of living, is $600 a year.[1]

Later he wrote, in view of further investigations: "Probably the earlier estimates of the cost of living, including that made by the writer, are now too low."[2]

It must be remembered that, in a rough way, we already accept a standard in practical life for each grade of workmen and in each community. Thus in fixing the wages of unskilled laborers the employers make a rough calculation of what it costs a workman to live, and they feel that they are doing something base if they offer less. Most employers think they should pay something more

[1] *Principles of Relief.*

[2] *Charities and Commons*, November 17, 1906; Ryan, *A Living Wage*, chap. vii. The latter work is an interesting analysis of the problem; no writer has yet solved it.

than the bare cost of living. It is true that girls and women are often paid less than the cost of their living, but in such cases the earnings of the men are supposed to be the main source of income for the family, or charity may supplement wages. In giving charity itself the visitor rapidly makes a guess at the minimum cost of necessities, and seeks to discover the sources of income; then relief is given to make up the deficit. Experienced visitors acquire skill in making these estimates even where deception obscures the facts.

II. SOCIAL METHODS OF MAINTAINING THE MINIMUM STANDARD

All the methods to be mentioned have somewhere been tried, and are not merely inventions or suggestions of the imagination.

1. Society is bringing pressure to bear on negligent men and women to induce or compel them to support their families by steady individual industry and faithful devotion of earnings to proper uses. Thus public opinion chastises the loafer, the shirk, the deserter of wife and children, the vicious, the spendthrift, the drunkard, and the vagabond. If teaching, preaching, ridicule, persuasion, advice, and warning fail to secure economic and domestic virtue, the law inflicts fines and imprisonment, with the object of securing

support from the persons responsible. These laws are made more and more exacting.

Fortunately such extreme measures are necessary only for exceptional cases; ordinarily the motives for industry are sufficient to keep most men at work regularly, at least among races which have for generations been trained to regular industry, and where the desire for many kinds of goods urges men to work without ceasing.

2. When parents, with children to maintain and educate, are disabled by sickness, accident, old age, unemployment, or misfortune, and cannot supply the necessities of life to dependent children and the aged, society comes to their aid with private charity or public relief. The poor-law is a recognition by the people of a state of the moral rule that we ought not to permit any citizen, no matter what his previous history, to perish from hunger and cold, and that we ought not to permit any child to grow up without education on account of poverty. Frequently the relief given is unwisely administered, excessive or deficient in amount; but the moral obligation to maintain a certain standard of life for every member of the community is distinctly implied in both public and private relief. This relief must ever remain exceptional; it cannot become a regular means of support without degradation of the working popu-

lation. In the case of the able-bodied adult, relief can be safely given only in return for productive labor; and where dependence is due to sickness the relief must be so administered as to restore the capacity to earn the means of living.

The objection to this method of meeting the minimum standard is that it degrades the recipient, tends to make him indolent and morally feeble, reduces the wages of the industrious, lays an undue burden on tax-payers and generous citizens, and so injures all.

The methods of administering charity in exceptional and necessary cases cannot be discussed here, but must be reserved for another time.

3. Measures relating to the industrial group or the wage-earners. At this point we may barely mention some of the methods by which workingmen are helped to maintain and raise their standard of living and means of support: bureaus of employment, industrial education and training, cooperation in purchase of commodities and construction of homes, savings schemes to encourage thrift, provident loans, industrial insurance, legal minimum wages, and many others which will be discussed later.

Two of the social movements are so closely related to family welfare that they must be mentioned here—shelter and food.

III. SOCIAL DUTIES IN RELATION TO SUITABLE HABITATIONS

Residence in towns and cities reveals the absolute impossibility of meeting our moral duties by individual action. In the rural communities, on the other hand, where each family lives in a separate dwelling, far removed from other habitations, the condition of the home is chiefly determined by the character and ideals and means of the family, without consideration of the condition of other persons outside the home. But let one of these families take up residence in a city where land is so dear that few can own a separate dwelling, where most of the houses are rented by the month or year, and where many families are crowded closely together under the same roof, where all are compelled to jostle each other in the halls and are totally ignorant of the character of their neighbors, though affected by them in health and morality; add poverty to crowding, and then imagine how little the ordinary workingman can do to prevent evils in physical and moral conditions. Under such circumstances one has the conviction that appeal must be made to some general law which commands the landlord, and which restrains the selfish tenant and guards the purity of childhood. Moral suasion will not secure action from reluctant

avarice; only the "big stick" of law enforced by inspectors, that "sword of the magistrate" of which Paul said that it was not borne in vain, will tame the beast of greed and of ignorance.

What does the duty of a city require in relation to the control of sanitary and decent habitations? (1) Since houses must be built every year to replace old ones or to provide for growing population, the government must secure through legal regulations that every dwelling conform to the necessary conditions of health and propriety; (2) old houses which are unfit for residence must be altered and improved, if possible, to make them conform to the minimum standard of health and decency; (3) the government must condemn and destroy houses which are a menace to health and morality; (4) the administration must provide adequate supervision of present and future tenement houses so that they shall be properly kept. In the minimum standard of a human dwelling experience has taught that the following items must be included: sufficient light and air; space about the dwelling to secure ventilation and sunshine; such construction of walls, partitions, and stairways that the home may not become a death-trap in case of fire; separate water-closets and washing facilities to guard modesty and purity; a certain space for

each person; partitions so constructed that the sexes may be separate and boarders be kept apart from the family; cellars and courts clean and open to air and light. Experience and expert study have developed a code of building construction which has been adopted by the leading cities, covering the minute details of all such points.

In the city of Liverpool it was found that private enterprise was not ready to build houses, and rent them at a rate which poor workingmen could afford to pay, and the city bought ground and built decent habitations of simple style, and rented them at cost to laborers who were living in houses unfit for human life. The moral effects of these changes were soon apparent; the number of drunken and riotous men brought before the police courts was reduced; sexual purity was increased and prostitution diminished; rents were promptly paid; cleanliness was enforced until it became a pleasant habit; mortality of children was reduced; less time was lost from work through vicious indulgence; and in every respect the conduct and character of the people were improved. There were, of course, theorists who shook their heads because all this public solicitude for the welfare of the poor contradicted their theories of government functions, and they called

the policy hard names, as "socialism," "paternalism," and the like; but that good came of the scheme no one can deny. In order that persons able to pay higher rent should not take the new houses, it was wisely ordered that only families driven out of the unfit dwellings could rent the new houses. Other cities have failed at this point, because they neglected this precaution and rented to any bidder.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. What laws of your state regulate the building of dwelling-houses? If you live in a city, get a copy of the building ordinances. Are such regulations part of a *moral* code?

2. Learn whose duty it is to enforce these laws, as officers of health, state inspectors, police, fire marshal, etc.

3. Are these laws complete and reasonable, and are they well enforced? If there is neglect, who is to blame, and how can he be officially brought to account?

4. Do you know of any dwellings which are unfit for human habitation? Discuss ways of improving the conditions.

5. Has your community any ideal of duty on the subject of dwellings? What evidence have you for your opinion?

6. Can you trace any good or evil spiritual consequences of the physical surroundings of particular families? Bring these to the attention of the class.

7. How is the whole question of habitations related to social duty and hence to Christianity?

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IV. SOCIAL DUTIES IN RELATION TO FOOD AND DRINK

"Whether ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God" (I Cor. 10:31); "Or know ye not that your body is a temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, which ye have from God? . . . . glorify God therefore in your body" (I Cor. 6:19, 20). We assume in this discussion that the biblical teaching in respect to the body is familiar even from childhood. We proceed at once to outline topics for a discussion which may lead to clearer knowledge of what our duty is in respect to the treatment of the body. The information must be sought by consulting physicians, and books on anatomy, hygiene, and sanitation, some of which are mentioned at the close of this chapter.

1. *The influence of the body and the spirit upon each other.*—The body affects the spirit, and, in turn, the state of the mind affects the health. Jesus healed the body as part of his redeeming work. Gluttony depresses the soul, weakens moral courage, excites animal passions, produces diseases, so reduces usefulness and

efficiency and shortens life. Bad physical habits in parents cause their children to inherit their weakness and faults. On the other hand, insufficient and improper food injures the body and impairs the spiritual forces and character. A few persons overcome feeble health by strong effort, but weakness of the physical side of our nature easily passes over into the soul. We do not know exactly the connection between these two sides of our being, but the fact that they influence each other is known by all. Upright judges, after a dinner which is not digested, have been tempted to throw the scales of justice out of balance. Preachers in ill-health, or imperfectly fed, show it in peevish, whining, or scolding sermons. Toothache makes bad temper. Rheumatism cripples a good man in the race for the prize of righteous living. Ague chills the ardor of devotion. Neuralgia unfits for social fellowship. Many diseases are due to unscientific feeding. These facts show that food, which is absolutely essential to life, is also an important factor in right living. No man can put forth more energy in song or prayer or charitable labor than he gets from food consumed and assimilated. It is our duty each day to have just as much force as we can possibly get out of what we eat, and then to direct that force according to

the laws of social well-being, the law of love to God and man.[8]

2. *The necessity of education in reference to food and drink.*—It is a duty which each person owes to society to acquire all possible knowledge of food and drink, and it is our duty as members of state and nation to use the powers of government to educate all citizens in this matter, and to protect the people against fraud, adulteration, and poison.

a) What is the use of food and drink? The purpose of taking food and drink is to build up the structure of bones, nerves, muscles, and all tissues of the body; to repair the waste of the system which goes on constantly; and to produce energy which may go out in the activities of life. If men were to stop consuming food, all the institutions of society would soon fall into ruin with the utter destruction of all life. Religion

[8] "Every man has lain on his own trencher."

"Men dig their graves with their own knives and forks."

"Public men are dying not of overwork, but of their dinners" (Mrs. Ellen H. Richards).

"The seat of courage is the stomach" (Frederick the Great).

"We are fed, not to be fed, but to work."

"Courage, cheerfulness, and a desire to work depend mostly on good nutrition" (Moleschott).

"The destiny of nations depends on how they are fed."

—Quotations from Lake Placid Conference on Home Economics, 1905.

itself would disappear from the world more effectually than by the murder of all believers. Saints turn nutrition into prayers as wicked men transform it into curses.

b) What are the essential elements of food and drink? The authorities tell us that three kinds of organic materials are necessary to health and life: proteids, fats, and carbohydrates, with certain acids, and also inorganic materials, including water and mineral salts. The proteids are composed of various chemical elements, are found in both vegetables and meats, and are necessary to life, while if taken in excess they produce disorders of many kinds. Fats consist of carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen; nitrogen is supplied by the proteids. The carbohydrates include starch, sugar, and cellulose. Some of the salts needed are sodium, potassium chlorides, potassium, magnesium, calcium phosphates, and compounds of iron.

c) Quantity of food and drink required:

For the maintenance of a proper degree of health and strength the individual must ingest an amount of food sufficient to meet the daily loss of nitrogen and carbon. This must necessarily vary according to circumstances, and hence no rule can be laid down to fit all cases. The best that can be done is to make general rules based on the amount of work performed; for the greater the amount of work done, the greater the amount of food

required to meet the necessary consumption of fuel and to replace the tissues. . . . . It has been estimated by Voit . . . . that a man weighing 70 to 75 kilos (154 to 165 pounds), and working at moderately hard labor 9 to 10 hours a day, requires 118 grams of proteids, 56 of fat, and 500 of carbohydrates (Harrington).

Some later writers[4] think that the amount of proteids may be considerably reduced with advantage to health. The measure used is called a calorie, which means the amount of heat necessary to raise the temperature of 1 kilogram of water, 1 degree Centigrade, and this energy is able to lift 425.5 kilograms one meter. Voit thought that it was necessary for a man at work according to his standard to consume food enough to create 3,054.6 calories in a day. Beginning with this measurement, scientific students are working out the quantities necessary for all classes of persons—infants, boys and girls, women, and persons in all occupations and circumstances of climate, age, health, weight, etc. These interesting studies will result in great economy of food and in improved health. But it would be impracticable and undesirable to weigh viands every time we eat, and this is unnecessary. Nature will aid in finding the limit of quantity by the indications of appetite, though

[4] R. H. Chittenden, *Physiological Economy in Nutrition* (1904).

this is not infallible and may be morbid. It has been found, as by Gladstone, that by very thorough mastication of food one is satisfied with a smaller quantity and at the same time is more perfectly nourished.

Food must be agreeable and varied in order to perform its task; and the pleasures of the table aid digestion. The satisfaction of food is part of nature's way of assuring the perpetuation of life and of all that should go with life. Further details must be sought in the books cited, or in others equally reliable.

3. *Alcoholic drinks.*—It is in connection with this subject that we come upon the use and abuse of alcoholic drinks. Fluids are necessary to health, and agreeable drinks have direct value in connection with foods. The danger of drinking intoxicating fluids has been made familiar in the temperance campaigns of the past generation, although with much ignorance and exaggeration. A few maxims may be sufficient to start discussion in the right direction. If alcoholic fluids are required for health, they should be prescribed by a reputable physician, just as quinine, strychnine, and arsenic are prescribed. Alcohol is a powerful remedy, and even in its diluted forms lurk perils to health and character. Very few persons actually need alcohol in any form,

since thousands of men have done hard work and accomplished the highest results in all occupations and all climates without such stimulants. Ordinary food supplies all the alcohol that is really necessary, except in disease or, perhaps, old age. All the nutritive value that is in alcoholic drinks can be bought at much less expense in foods which are not dangerous.

4. *Social customs.*—Banquets and feasts must be judged by their effects on health and their cost in waste. Not only in commercial, political, and fashionable circles do people sin against the canons of hygiene and economy, but even in church meetings, both in country and city, gluttony and waste are not unknown. "Tell it not in Gath." While hundreds of thousands of children go hungry to bed, the waste of food cries out to heavenly pity and justice. The miserable falsehood that the waste of rich men is the good fortune of the poor, by increasing trade, has caused many a death—death by surfeit and death by starvation.

5. *Adulteration of food and medicine.*—Commerce and trade deal out food and drink, and they must be brought under the rule of moral principles. From ancient times complaints have not ceased in respect to short weights and measures. The temptation is ever present in each

of billions of sales to get pay for a pound when only fifteen ounces are delivered. The thrifty housewife keeps in the kitchen her own scales, but it is a shame she must do so.

Adulteration of food has become a subject of discussion all over the civilized world. By investigations carried on by private parties, and then by governments of nation and city, the extent of this wrong has been made public. Setting aside the exaggerations and misrepresentations of sensational writers, we have left in the official reports and in the confessions of meat-packers, wholesale grocers, retail dealers, and disclosures of boards of health, a picture of unscrupulous neglect, combined with ignorance and recklessness of human life, which is humiliating and discouraging. Nor are merchants alone guilty, for the "honest farmer," guileless and simple, has been known to ship his hogs and cattle to market as quickly as possible when he found them threatened with some disease which might soon carry them off.

How can social righteousness become effective? Some tell us by individual honesty, by preaching the gospel, and by conversion of sinners. All this is right; but even converted men need to be taught their duty by the law, since many of them think the parson and Sunday-school teacher are

not familiar with business. Some adulterators of food stand high among friends of missions. They never think they are doing wrong until they are threatened with exposure by a government inspector. The interest of the individual will not protect the common interest; the community must protect the public welfare by law. Self-interest needs both enlightenment and punishment to make it serve the public. The public must have scientific and upright inspectors wherever food is prepared, whether on ranch and farm or in packing-houses, storage warehouses, or grocery stores. In this connection it might be well for the class to make an inspection of the places in which the animal food of the town or village is prepared; they are likely to find things in the slaughter-house which will remind them of the Chicago and Kansas City scandals.

The pure food laws recently enacted by Congress to regulate interstate commerce in foods, and the improvement in methods of inspecting the preparation of meats, are examples of the value of appeals to government against private neglect or greed of gain. It is hoped that not only will these kinds of business find a better market in all civilized lands, but that at home we shall have more just weights and purer diet. Incidentally the great merchants themselves will

be made better men. The magistrate and President are ministers of God for this very thing, just as truly as pastors and deacons.

Patent medicines, only too frequently advertised in religious papers, through ignorance and neglect of careful inquiry, have become one of the more important causes of inebriety. Persons are induced by these advertisements to swallow stuff recommended by ministers of the gospel, who of course never made chemical analysis of the contents; and since it makes them "feel good" for a time, they imagine they are cured by it. Meantime some form the habit of depending on dangerous stimulants. Many medicines, as soothing syrups, contain opium, and the druggist does not always give notice to mothers who ignorantly drug their children to death. There is a long series of these immoral practices which might be brought out in many communities with the help of honest druggists and physicians.

6. *The duty of society to the ignorant and the young.*—Social duty must not ignore the poor and the ignorant in all our towns who perish from hunger, or become feeble and pauperized from food unsuitable in kind or improperly cooked. Food is at the basis of civilization, and cooking is an art which ought to be taught everywhere in schools. Private philanthropy and in-

dividual effort will never be able to train the hundreds of thousands of girls and young women for household duties.

The duties of society in relation to drinking customs should be taught in public schools as a natural part of the study of human anatomy, physiology, and hygiene. This should not be done in special hours and classes. There is much complaint among both scientific men and teachers of high rank that the books used in some states are not accurate and reliable, and that the method of instruction required by law is frequently monotonous and repetitious. Want of accuracy and interest in method of teaching will destroy all the good influence of such instruction and cause a reaction against the whole movement.

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H. N. Martin, *The Human Body.*

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C. Harrington, *Practical Hygiene.*

Florence Kelley, *Some Ethical Gains through Legislation,* chaps. vi, viii.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Members of the class who know of adulteration of food and drugs can report.

2. See if improper advertisements of patent medicines are found in secular and religious newspapers, and discuss facts discovered.

3. What is gluttony? When does a man come under the influence of alcohol enough to be "drunk?" Is intoxication the worst evil of using alcohol?

4. What are some of the inherited effects of gluttony and use of alcohol?

5. Analyze the Pure Food Law of Congress.

6. What are the duties of health officers of state and city in your own community?

7. Why cannot the regulation of food and drink be left to individuals? Why is law necessary?

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL DUTIES TO NEGLECTED CHILDREN

If we read the Bible with our eyes open to its meaning we gain a strong conviction that God cares for children. Nowhere in literature are there more touching and commanding words than those in which Jesus claims the protectorate of all the little ones on earth in the name of the Heavenly Father. If we walk through the streets of a modern town, or visit factories where children are employed, or hospitals where the victims of sin languish, we are startled and awakened by the spectacle of wrongs done to the innocent and helpless. But before a large community of comfortable people can actually be made to observe and think, many must be personally annoyed, vexed, injured, or shocked by some inhuman barbarity. Without standards of judgment kind persons have actually visited work-places and prisons where the young have been ruined in health and morals without being stirred, because they did not understand the consequences of such conditions. For centuries Christians have permitted immature persons by the million to bear prematurely the burdens of long days of toil simply because they thought it was only

natural and inevitable. More than a century of agitation in Christian England was necessary to abolish legally the employment of boys in sweeping out the long, crooked, suffocating chimneys, in which many were murdered after brutal tortures. Even tragic facts do not always move good men to act until they are induced to trace out the full consequence of social neglect. Observation is feeble and blind without imagination and judgment applied to the entire situation. The evils of child abuse sometimes require several generations of gradual degeneration to reveal themselves; and at the very moment a child is being destroyed it may be gay and buoyant. The dead tell no tales, and fresh victims conceal the insidious effects of social wrong. No one is so hopelessly blind as he who will not see and who curses the philanthropists for interfering with a profit in human lives. And where there is profit in oppression of the speechless and cost in their redemption the great mass of the public is slow to move. Hence they who undertake to right the wrongs of childhood must delve below the surface of appearances, must gather facts from all sources, must see the entire situation in all its play of causes and effects.

I. DISCOVERY OF SIGNIFICANT FACTS

A Bible class may render service to Christ by taking up such a study in the state; but its members must go about the quest for facts with intelligence.

1. *Classification.*—Aimless groping in the dark discovers nothing; our inquiry must be systematic and directed to the subject. He who is looking for flowers finds them; he who seeks shells goes to the beach; the deer-hunter travels to the forest glades; the fisherman casts his bait in the stream.

a) We must look for the *neglected infant.* In all cities of considerable size may be found unscrupulous men and women who keep so-called hospitals, or baby-farms, where young unmarried mothers take refuge to hide their shame and then give over their unwanted babes into the hands of harpies who let them die of slow starvation or hasten death with drugs. These miserable people are in Germany grimly called "angel-makers," because they are supposed to send so many innocents to heaven by a short route. In these secret places of cities are often found betrayed girls from distant villages and country places; for not all human sin originates in cities. Many neglected infants remain with ignorant and often careless parents. Ignorance and extreme poverty are

usually the cause of neglect and death of infants of poor married people. Usually the mother loves her babe if it remain with her, but destitution makes one hopeless and almost relieved when the little one passes away and there is one less mouth to feed.

b) Those who seek may find parents who are actually cruel; who hire their children out to wandering beggars or send them on the street to sell papers in wintry nights and beat them if they return without money. Many are hot-tempered and strike their children through caprice, while alcohol benumbs the moral sense and lets loose the beast in man. Children so treated become vagabonds, beggars, thieves, or prostitutes.

c) We have already spoken of young children sent too early to work in factories before education is advanced, the bones strong, the muscular development complete.

d) We may also find defective children—the crippled, blind, deaf.

e) Here and there in every state are the subnormal and abnormal—feeble minded, idiots, imbeciles, epileptics.

2. *How are we to extend our knowledge beyond the narrow bounds of personal observation?* —We may travel to other places and widen the area of observation, or we may send inquirers.

In fact, however, this is not necessary, for the government is now making investigation which will bring out most of the essential facts throughout the nation; and such noble philanthropies as the Sage Fund will follow up these wide investigations with very careful and minute studies of particular localities.

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3. *With the help of all these sources of information* the student of social duties who will have ground for an independent judgment must consider, as fully as possible, all the facts relating to neglected children in the neighborhood, or state, or nation. The next step is to study with all completeness the causes of the conditions discovered; that is, what there is in the situation, earnings, habits, surroundings of the families which has led to such cruelty and harm. It is also necessary to consider the consequences of neglect: the preventable mortality of infants, the

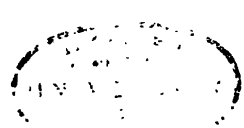
crippling and dwarfing of body, the want of education for life, the suffering which comes from thwarted desire of children to play and be happy without too early care, the consequent loss of vigor, earning power, and disposition to labor in later years, and the revolt against social order which inevitably arises where childhood is nothing but misery and grind. Such reflections upon facts observed or learned from any reliable source will surely start a desire to know what good people have learned by experience as to the best methods of curing the evil and preventing the wrong. To this we now turn attention.

The man of science believes in law, not in chance, fate, guesswork, blundering without guidance of principles. Kind intentions are not a substitute for knowledge; gentle emotions are not full equipment for the service of neglected childhood. During hundreds of years of philanthropic activity the world has discovered certain methods of dealing with such needy ones and has learned that other methods are harmful and to be rejected. Success is not a matter of accident but of scientific method carried out by competent and earnest administrators. What are examples of such principles of guidance?

II. PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF CARE OF NEGLECTED CHILDREN

It is here taken for granted that every child has a right to conditions favorable to health, education, morality, and, therefore, to food, play, parental love, maintenance, and good example. If every child has such rights then society has a duty to enforce them against the failure of parents or to supply the place of parental maintenance and education where these for any reason fail. The old English law more or less clearly implied this obligation and provided, though imperfectly, for the supervision of children. To deny this social obligation would be to dissolve the moral bond itself. If this duty of the community cannot be made clear none can. The best method discoverable is the form of the social duty; it expresses the moral law for conduct in this field. We may here give some examples of such principles, and the student can find the proof of their wisdom and soundness in the works of reference cited.

1. *Principles relating to neglected infants.*—It is universally taught by the competent authorities that the mother who can do so should give her babe its natural nourishment, for thereby, on the average, the chances of life are greatly increased. In extreme cases, where nature's provision fails



or is insufficient, cow's milk, properly prepared and pure, may be fed under careful medical advice. To carry out this principle various organizations have been effected. Societies have been formed to encourage mothers to nourish their own infants; and where the mothers must go out to work these societies pay a pension to enable her to perform her duty at home. In great cities the government inspects the dairies and places of sale to prevent the distribution of milk which, owing to the presence of hurtful bacteria or lack of nutritious elements, is more poison than food.[1] This movement to supervise the milk supply of large towns came none too soon, for the slaughter of innocents went on with a ferocity beside which the murder of children by Herod was mercy. Philanthropy has established associations of trained nurses who go from house to house giving instruction to mothers in relation to the methods of preserving the lives and vigor of their children. Ignorance is more frequently the cause of disease and death than cruelty or carelessness. Physicians have also opened free dispensaries for poor mothers to supply them with artificial food, where it is necessary, and to teach mothers how to maintain the life and energy of the young citizens. Experience has shown that

[1] See John Spargo, *The Common Sense of the Milk Problem.*

it will not do to leave this delicate task to the ignorant impulses of poor mothers. The pity of it is that young women so frequently go at once from factory and shop to wifehood and motherhood without ever having any instruction in the preservation of their own health or in the care of infants. Such information as they pick up by chance from mothers and midwives is often misleading.

The method of helping the infants of unmarried mothers must be studied. First of all, asylum should be afforded such unfortunate girls in their hour of misery. Experience has shown that usually an unmarried mother will take refuge and care for her babe if she is not unduly exposed to shame. She ought to be taught that to abandon the babe is equivalent to multiplying the probabilities of its death; desertion is murder; she should nurse her babe for one year at least. Whether after that she should have the control of the child must depend on her nature, education, character, and situation. Good homes can generally be found for such young mothers if they are able and willing to do household work. An open door of refuge for the disgraced and terrified girl, victim of passion, folly, and wickedness, prevents despair and suicide or infanticide, proves that the pity of Christ to the fallen is a

reality, and opens a vision of a merciful God. Vice brings to such a very severe punishment and the sinner needs not further rebuke and unpitying retribution. "He that is without sin let him first cast a stone at her." In any case the infant is innocent and has full right to social protection —just as much right as the offspring of lawful marriage. In infancy such a child has right to proper physical care, and when it grows up has right to be free from humiliation and ostracism which is only too often visited on the helpless victim of sin by irrational public opinion.

2. *Principles governing the right treatment of children morally abandoned or cruelly treated.*— Cruelty is ingenious and inventive in ways of torture. Sometimes cruelty is seen in partial starvation, or in administering doses of drugs to keep the child still, sometimes in whipping and beating with physical injury. The animal wants may be met fairly well, and yet the soul of the young creature may be assailed by odious and defiling examples of uncleanliness, profanity, theft, riot; and that means it is morally abandoned. For all such cases each community ought to provide protection by humane societies, juvenile courts backed by laws which provide punishment for parents who contribute by their neglect to the downfall of their offspring. Here again the

best-known method is the standard of social duty. Of recent years this obligation of the state has been more clearly expressed in compulsory-education laws, in according to juvenile courts the power to call before them not merely the delinquent child but parents and other adults who in any way have contributed to the moral hurt of the child. If parents are shown to be too poor to give adequate maintenance and supervision to their children then the community ought, through public or private charity, to supply what is essential.

3. *Principles regulating suitable care of defective children.*—Social statistics of the blind, deaf and crippled are by no means complete and satisfactory, but they reveal a very serious number of these classes in all countries. Blindness has many causes, some of them diseases which can be traced to the sins of fathers. In many forms loss of sight is due to accident and sickness. Deafness also is due to many causes, some of them preventable. Crippled children are those who have weak spines or hip disease, or are victims of violence and accidents.

The first principle for social duty is prevention, where causes are known; and the next is cure, to the extent to which this is possible. Surgery and medicine are doing wonders for all these

unfortunates, and if cure is not possible, life in thousands of cases is at least made tolerable and useful.

In the education of the blind and of the deaf we have technical problems too complex to discuss here. There are special treatises on methods of teaching the deaf and the blind to communicate with each other and with the outside world. The stories of Laura Bridgman and Helen Keller are full of encouragement and interest. Boarding-schools are provided by most states for deaf and for blind children. But it has been found that many of both classes may be taught in ordinary schools by special teachers, and without sending them away from home. So far as this is possible, as in cities, it has the advantage that the children are not deprived of home and its natural affections and care, so necessary to development of character. It is also an advantage that the children early learn to take care of themselves and live independently in mixed society.

4. *Duty of the community to abnormal children.*—Any human being who cannot be educated and trained to be capable of self-support and self-control, by reason of imbecility, idiocy, epilepsy, or insanity, should for his own happiness, for the sake of the family, and for the protection of society, be placed and maintained in cottage

homes in separate villages apart from all other human beings, under the gentle but firm care of teachers, physicians, and superintendents. They cannot succeed in competition with normal children, and the attempt to do so brings nothing but misery, poverty, and humiliation. These isolation colonies should be so arranged and administered that when the children grow up in youth and maturity they will not be permitted to marry or to have children of their own. Boys and girls must be kept in separate places. With proper surgical treatment, which is painless and harmless, and even necessary to their health, they will never under any circumstances become parents of similar miserable creatures.

Epileptic children and adults are so unlike idiotic persons that they ought never to be placed with them; special villages of epileptics are now established by the most advanced states, and also colonies of the feeble minded. The mode of life and the treatment of these two classes of unfortunates is so dissimilar that it is impossible properly to care for them under the same administration.

Every human being has a right to the most complete education which he can receive, and therefore it is the duty of the state to provide means for such education, and to appoint com-

petent and specially trained teachers and physicians for this task.

5. *Provision for idle children.*—Attention must here be called to methods of dealing with children in a crowded neighborhood, or even in villages and towns where idle groups are left to their own resources and are almost sure to get into mischief. It is a safe principle to act upon that every child should be kept busy every waking minute. Indeed every healthy child will take care to be busy at something. An old proverb hits the truth: An idle mind is the devil's workshop. But hands busy with destruction may also dig the grave of character. Children must have room to grow; a hill of corn must have space to produce grains, and civic virtue will not flourish in a sand lot covered with dirty cans and refuse. Boys and girls cannot thrive in health or morality if their only playground is the street or alley, and they are left without older persons to teach them how to play.

We now know that regulated, supervised, educational play is nature's way of character-building. Through plays and games the human race first learned to work. A child who never has a free chance to jump, spring, shout, laugh, compete, dance, run, throw, swim, shoot, wrestle, box, build and make things, can never develop all faculties.

Homes of the poor are too crowded for all the play children require, and parents seldom have either the leisure or knowledge to teach children how to play. Policemen are still more unfit; it is not their business. Playgrounds must be provided by the community, one playground for every schoolhouse at least, where children "learn love's holy earnest in a pretty play, and get not over-early solemnized." When children of school age are not in school or at home, let them be with wise teachers who know how to make play a path to productive work to the sound of laughter and music. Play directors have already formed a national association and are establishing special normal schools for training teachers for this new and desirable form of education. Long ago Froebel with his kindergarten revealed the value of play in education, but his ideas are now extended in directions and ways of which he did not dream.

Boys and girls like to use tools and enjoy the triumph of skill in making pretty and useful articles. Art classes in drawing and color painting are attractive. Almost any occupation, except reading books, can with healthy and vigorous children be made play.

Part of the time there should be "free play," as with marbles, tops, ball, without any direct

drill or useful purpose; enjoyment is itself useful, as all beauty is. In games, properly supervised by sympathetic teachers, children are socialized, civilized, Christianized; they learn to "play fair," to obey rules, to check selfishness, to be urbane and patient, and bravely to take hard knocks without whimpering.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

Members of the class may wish to pursue these subjects still farther, and by means of the books cited in references they will be able to do so. Such topics as these may be considered and discussed:

1. What are the physical conditions of defective and abnormal children of all the classes mentioned?

2. What causes have been at work to produce these defects?

3. Are any of these causes capable of being diminished or removed, and by what means and methods?

4. What are the best methods of educating children in these various special schools?

5. Is there need of having special classes in the community where members of the class reside?

6. Are school physicians or nurses appointed by your school authorities to examine little children when they enter school and discover whether they are diseased, defective, feeble minded, too slow and stupid to keep up with others in classes, and so exposed to jest and insult by other children? Is any attempt made to treat children who are made stupid by growths in the nose (adenoids), obstructions of hearing, defects of vision, which might be corrected by proper treatment? Are

there children who have crooked backs or deformed feet who might be made stronger by treatment in a hospital and by proper apparatus? Have you a corps of district nurses moving about among the poor to discover children thus affected with deformity or disease long before they are discovered by school authorities? Have the physicians established schools where mothers can be taught how to feed and bathe their infants, and in all ways rear them in health and strength? Do you know of any little children with flat or deformed feet who might be made whole if taken to a hospital while their bones are pliable?

7. Has your state provided colonies for the feeble minded and for epileptics? Where are they? What is the law governing them? Are they able to accommodate all for whom admission is sought? Can you help improve conditions at this point?

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CHAPTER V

SOCIAL DUTY TO WORKINGMEN

I. THE SCOPE OF THE PROBLEM[1]

1. Who are the "workingmen"? Do not all honest folk work? "Workingmen," in the meaning of the word used in this lesson, are those members of the community who, with their families, depend chiefly or entirely on wages for their living, who do not own the materials and machinery with which they labor, do not have a voice in government of mill or factory or shop, and have no right at law in the profits made. Formerly there were comparatively few of this social class; now they constitute a majority of the population of cities and are rapidly growing in numbers. In the country the "farm hands" belong to this class, but they are not yet relatively so numerous. Closely connected in interest with industrial wage-workers are those who are employed in mercantile establishments, minor officials who live on small salaries, and even

[1] If the leader of the class desires to have inspiring biblical messages directly in the spirit of this lesson, he will find plenty of them in both Old and New Testaments; for example, in Jas. 5:1-6; Am. 2:6-7; 5:10-15; Zech. 7:8-14; Isa. 3:13-15; 10:1-2; Deut. 24:10-15.

school-teachers, many of whom receive lower incomes than unskilled laborers at rough work.

2. Why does society owe any special duty to members of this particular group? Because they are in a dependent position; they do not own and control the factories, machines and raw materials; they cannot give orders; they are subject to discharge at any moment, with or without reason, by the employer; they have no power, unless strongly united, to affect the rules which govern the conditions of health and treatment; their very bodies and minds have become subservient to managers of business. In the case of the unskilled laborers, who are the largest sub-group in this class, the wages are barely sufficient to maintain a meager existence when work is plenty and regular; without margin for books, recreation, times of sickness, accident, old age, widowhood, and unemployment.

3. The health, income, and culture of this vast and growing multitude are a national concern. If these people are sickly or weak, and industrial efficiency is lowered, the production of goods is diminished, and the nation is poorer. If some of them are left without income on account of accident, sickness, old age, death of the breadwinner, or unemployment, they must be supported by public or private charity, the cost of which is

great and the effect morally degrading. If, through defective education, the children grow up criminals, as many do, the cost is still heavier, and the moral evils wrought by vice, prostitution, and criminal associations poison members of all social classes.

Then the much-discussed "industrial efficiency" of economists, though desirable to the employer and to the entire people, is not the final and highest purpose of any man. The "workingman" is first of all just a man, and his power to produce commodities is not the object of his existence. He has a right to leisure, recreation, family affection, companionship with wife and children, worship, art, literature, music, and all else that is necessary to a human life. And since his relatively dependent position in industry makes his hold on genuine human life insecure, it is the duty of society to help guarantee his rights as a man. The right to liberty is a mockery if it does not carry with it the possibility of leisure and spiritual enjoyments.

4. What are the chief elements of a "social policy" in relation to workingmen? It is the systematic, general, and purposeful plan of a whole community to do its duty to the families in this group. This social purpose is of the essence of the idea. Many things incidentally

benefit workingmen which are designed for all citizens, as civil and penal law, ordinary business for profit, sanitary regulations. But this is not a social policy in the meaning of the phrase here used. A "social policy" is the systematic plan and purpose of a whole society, not merely of exceptional philanthropic individual employers and capitalists, here and there. Philanthropy is a very noble sentiment but experience shows that it is capricious, unreliable, uncertain in practice, and may at any moment be withdrawn. That moral purpose of a whole people which is expressed definitely in law is most worthy of the name of a social policy. That is the highest moral achievement which is accepted by all the people as their will, as expressed through their chosen representatives.

Philanthropic action of rich individuals and limited voluntary associations or corporations may well lead the way in a general movement and may be adopted into the wider scheme. Some remarkably generous employers will often go farther than it would be wise to require by law, but it is still true that such unusual action does not mean a social policy. Just here we are able to see in a concrete situation the difference between mere individual morality and the larger and highest social morality. That which a rich

man gives may exhibit his own individual virtue; but only the act and sacrifice of all citizens in bearing a common burden proves solidarity, a really socialized goodness.

5. A social policy is needed to supplement, regulate, and direct individual and voluntary acts of generosity. Individual power has always tended to become arbitrary and selfish. Vested interests are jealous of change and reluctant to accept burdens which may possibly lower dividends. The effort is to shift burdens of cost from one to another; the last man is the workingman, and he cannot shift his load to others. He is at the bottom. Each class of society is naturally inclined to think, and with clear conscience, that a situation in which they have become prosperous and happy must be in all respects wise, reasonable, and right. This is just as true of wage-workers as of capitalists. It is human nature. Each person is tempted to regard facts, laws, customs, and results from the standpoint of self-interest.

If this be a reasonable statement of the essential facts of human nature, society cannot afford to give over the common interest wholly to the sway and control of private interest, and leave private parties to fight out their differences. Society can organize institutions above and inde-

pendent of the self-interest of individuals and classes; in a legislature all interests may be represented and reconciled. The legislature places the universal interest over the prejudice and greed of persons and classes by establishing laws which are of benefit to all alike and by establishing courts for the settlement of disputes without private war. Civilization brings all clashing acts of egoism before the common tribunal of a social conscience; lynch law and mobs are indications of a reversion to barbarism and the confusion of frontier ways.

No single man, even if he be at once rich and good, can accomplish much alone. A private association lacks the power to make a good method wide as the nation or state. We must learn to cultivate a higher form of morality, a sense of social obligation and co-operation. This morality demands not only a finer sentiment, but a deeper thought, a wider knowledge, a nobler subordination of selfishness to the largest good. The "individualism" of which many boast often means no more than "die you, live I;" "every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost." This, in its extreme form, is the morality of beasts of prey who hunt alone. Each man ought to make the most of himself, educate himself, care for himself and his family, it is true; but a

man who does no more than that and who does not enter into the wider sweep of social goodness never makes much of himself; he remains small and lives in a little world. The typical "individualist" who remains egoistic is a criminal. He cannot be trusted abroad.

II. ELEMENTS OF A SOCIAL POLICY

1. *Protection against accidents and disease.*— A "social policy" must begin with protection of workingmen against accident and disease and temptations to immorality in factories, mills, and workshops. At this point we simply summarize facts of experience in all modern lands. When most of the people were farmers, and tools were simple, the employer and his "hired hand" toiled as companions side by side; accidents were rare and few causes of disease arose from the nature of the occupation.

All this has changed with the introduction and rapid increase of dangerous, complicated, steam-driven machinery; with the use of live wires charged with deadly currents of awful electric power; with ponderous and swift trains; with lofty buildings where men labor at a dizzy height on frames of steel and walls of stone; with bridges spanning swift rivers and dark gorges; with huge mills filled with dust, particles of steel

and stone, the air choking men with poisonous vapors; with pitiless lathes gripping the hands and merciless saws mutilating fingers and arms; with huge hammers falling with the force of many giants on the helpless workman, while swinging cranes and bursting crucibles spread death everywhere.

Many kind people do not know these dangers, and the law often permits their concealment. But we ought to know. It is the business of consumers to learn what their good things cost the men who make them.[2] How many good and comfortably pious people have ever thought of such facts as these:

We are proud of our President for the part he took as international peacemaker in the late war between Japan and Russia; but it can be shown that without doubt the industrial army of the United States suffers 50 per cent. more casualties every year than all the killed and wounded in both Russian and Japanese armies, and our government has taken no action in the premises,

[2] Here is a field for investigation for the class. Members may visit rolling-mills, mines, quarries, factories, and study the dangers of these places. When they are halted before the usual sign "No admission," they can make their inquiries of the families of workmen who have been hurt, of physicians who practice among them, of pastors and nurses and charity visitors who are familiar with the situation. In the second place, they can read the descriptions given in magazines and books. Reports of state factory inspectors are useful for this purpose.

no public meetings have been held, no relief subscriptions have been raised, and no societies have been formed for the education of public opinion with a view to putting an end to this slaughter. And all this is true notwithstanding this blood-letting is on our own soil. In these times of profound peace there are in the United States, in the course of four years, 80,000 more violent deaths than were suffered by both armies during the four years of our Civil War. . . . . Facts are given which indicate that the 7,086,000 persons engaged in manufacturing and in mechanical pursuits in this country suffer no less than 344,900 accidents in a year. If the remaining gainful occupations in which some 22,000,000 are engaged should prove to be only one-tenth as dangerous, we should have to add to the above list of casualties upward of 100,000 more.[8]

When we add the 94,000 casualties in a single year, which the Interstate Commerce Commission reports, it swells the grand total to nearly 550,000.

But this is not all. Many diseases are inevitably caused by the process of industry, from dust, microbes, infection, close confinement, exposure to tuberculosis and other communicable diseases. This means another source of frightful waste of strength and time and death of the bread-winners.

Even this is not all. On the average two or three persons, wife, children, aged parents, when

[8] See *Social Service*, August, 1906; and Bulletins 75 and 78, of Bureau of Labor, 1908.

thus deprived of their natural support, fall soon into mental and physical distress, and many of them would perish did they not take refuge in begging from house to house or by hiding their heads in the poorhouses. All the numbers must be multiplied by two or more to set forth the full extent of misery caused by these casualties of labor. Workshops in hazardous industries resemble battlefields.

A "social policy" must include first a scheme of protection against accidents and diseases, so far as this is possible by law, and then indemnity or source of income when accidents and diseases which cannot be prevented have deprived the workman and his family of the means of subsistence. In this article there is room only for a brief outline of measures of the first kind, protection.[4]

A complete system of labor laws would cover all the dangers here indicated; but, as a matter of fact, the regulations in many of our states include only a small part of these. Some states are far more backward than others. Naturally the laws and regulations ought to vary in adaptation to

[4] The actual laws already in force in the United States may be found in the volume entitled *Labor Laws of the United States,* Tenth Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor (Washington, 1904), and in the later Bulletins of the Bureau of Labor.

the circumstances of each district. For example, if a state has no mines of coal or metal ores or quarries of stone, it does not need mining laws and organization of inspectors of mines. In general, the following points need to be covered and provisions made for their enforcement.

2. *The labor contract.*—The labor contract, by which workmen enter service for wages, ought to be carefully guarded by law. There is need of free employment agencies everywhere to make it easy for workmen to discover quickly and without cost the places where they are needed, without having to pay large fees to private concerns which cheat them and do not help them. Private employment agencies are sometimes respectable, but they require careful supervision and must be licensed by the authorities. Probably the majority of such agencies in cities are evil, some of them active in promoting vice.[5]

The law should define such matters as the length of a day's work and the rate of wages, where there is no explicit contract; so that the legal claim of the wage-earner may be fixed in case of dispute. The duties and liabilities of both parties in case of cessation of employment by leaving or discharge should be defined by law.

3. *Payment of wages.*—The workingman

[5] See Francis A. Kellor, *Out of Work.*

needs legal protection in respect to payment of wages. Employers have at times sought to oppress the hireling by paying wages in inferior money, or in "truck," or by orders on stores in which inferior goods are sold at excessive prices. Ordinarily, the wages should be paid in lawful money. The place of payment is also important. It should never be in a saloon or other resort where there is a temptation to immorality and excess. The poor man needs his pay at frequent intervals, for he cannot wait long and his credit will not endure a great strain. The law should require payment at least once or twice a month. Self-interest has introduced frauds in the measurement of work done and the pay awarded; and so laws must be made to provide checks against these indirect methods of stealing earnings. Another device of selfishness is to get the workman into debt, charge him heavy interest, and practically take back much of his earnings under cover of claims as creditor. Fines are often imposed and are sometimes necessary for shop discipline, but they must be carefully restricted by law. In order to secure the payment of wages the mechanic is frequently given a prior right, a lien, on the building or commodity, so that he must be paid whether his employer is solvent or not.

4. *Protection of working children.*—Working children[6] must be protected in a very special way. They are young and ignorant as well as dependent; manufacturers are everywhere found willing to employ them because they do not demand high wages and will take what is offered, and ignorant or lazy or poverty-driven parents will send them to the factory for the sake of their little earnings. This is evil and unnecessary. Young children need to grow strong by play, and to secure an education at least of an elementary character before they are set at the steady, exhausting, and dangerous tasks of the shop. The more enlightened and humane peoples in Europe and America have already guarded against these perils, which would destroy the nation in its weakest members if not arrested, by enacting laws which forbid parents to permit their children to leave school until they are fourteen years of age, have reached a certain weight and height, and have enjoyed the privileges of school with the acquirement of ability to read and write and use their minds. From some employments children are properly excluded under all circumstances, as in occupations immoral or dangerous, as acro-

[6] Send for the latest information on the protection of children to O. R. Lovejoy, secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York City.

batic exhibitions, street begging, selling of alcohol. Night work has been found destructive of the health and morality of children. When children are permitted to work for wages, as during school vacations and after the fifteenth year or earlier, it has been found necessary to restrict the length of the work-day, to compel employers to permit them to rest at noon, to prohibit under penalty the appointment of foremen whose character is unfit for contact with children, and to prescribe the physical conditions which surround the young worker.

5. *Protection of working women.*—The women workers in factories and other public places are increasing in numbers in this country, and will be still more numerous in the future. They are exposed to dangers to which men are not liable and for which men are often to blame. They cannot protect themselves, and the law of our country is their proper defense against the greed of employers, the demands of an unreasonable public, and the rude selfishness of unprincipled men. In order to care for children to whom they will give birth, many girls and women need to be protected even against the consequences of their own ignorance and folly. On the average, women cannot work so many hours a day nor so many days in the year as men, yet they may be driven

by custom and by competition to consent, even at cost of health, to work long hours beyond their strength. This is at the cost of the national health and must be prevented. Law is the only method open. The hours permitted must be prescribed by legal direction, the pauses for rest must be fixed for various employments, night work in public places prohibited, and proper facilities provided for those who are fatigued to lie down in a decent room for temporary rest. Before and after the time of the birth of children the mothers should be prevented by regulations of inspectors from working under conditions ruinous to their own health and to that of their offspring.

It is a necessity of public welfare that the character and conduct of foremen in control of women and girl workers shall be suitable and moral; that women be forbidden to sell alcoholic liquors, or be in attendance in dancing-halls and theaters where vice is fostered by the very conditions. For a long time, largely due to the energy and devotion of the great Christian statesman and friend of the oppressed, the Earl of Shaftesbury, women have been forbidden to enter coal-mines and such places where the situation tended to degrade them and the men. Our more advanced states require mercantile establishments

to provide seats for girls in their employ and to permit their use when it is not quite necessary to stand up in order to serve customers. Health and morality, as well as aesthetic considerations, require that halls be lighted, and that separate, tidy, and sanitary retiring-rooms be provided. The best employers have done this voluntarily, and are glad to do more than any law will demand; and that which a good employer willingly does, all others should be compelled to do or go out of business. There are enough bright and capable, decent men in this nation to make all its goods and sell them.

Only passing mention can be made here of the desirability of regulating the labor contracts of foreigners, the employment of convicts so as to avoid competition with free workmen, and the special duty of cities and states to set an example to other employers by humane treatment of their own employees. It may be interjected that humanity and justice do not ask of public officers that they permit the servants of the public to become idle and negligent, and so cheat taxpayers by drawing salaries without return in service.[7]

[7] Members of the class may inquire and observe how some clerks in city halls, state houses, and other similar places *do not* work.

6. *Factory and workshop regulations.*[8]—A complete modern system of regulations will cover: requirements relating to preserving health; the important matters of the soil over which the workplace is built; the space for air within the room, and of light in the openings of the wall; proper sanitary arrangements for decency and cleanliness; guarding against the breathing of poisonous vapors and dust, by means of exhaust fans, veils, and other devices; places for bathing in shops where the skin is exposed to poisoning; suitable care of heat, cold, and ventilation; and where the occupation is exhausting, a limitation of time for each period of labor, so that the body may recover after each period of strain.

It is also necessary to command employers to provide and workmen to use devices to defend their eyes from injury and their limbs from mutilation, as by eye-covers, guards at dangerous points of machinery, protection against fire, solidity of buildings, and convenient fire-escapes, elevators, and staircases.

In the best codes of state laws may be found the regulations for the protection of life and limb

[8] Good examples of such laws are those of Massachusetts, New York, Minnesota, and some others; found in *Labor Laws* (1904), published by the Bureau of Labor. The British code is still more complete.

in particular industries, as in mines, on railroads, and in tenement houses. It is the duty of every citizen, man and woman, to know enough about the best codes and the code of his own state that he may help in securing the best regulations for every state, and help see that they are enforced. The same principle holds in respect to mercantile establishments and domestic helpers, the workmen on farms, and those engaged in building operations.

7. *Protection of legal rights.*—Another part of the social policy of a state must include the protection of workingmen and working women in their right to assemble, form unions to advance their interests, just as capitalists always have done, by peaceable and lawful persuasion and instruction; and at the same time defend the non-union workers from assault and the property of all from injury.

In case of disputes over the interpretation of the wages' contract, there is great need of boards of conciliation and arbitration, and courts with simple procedure and without cost to the parties, for decision of questions which constantly cause irritation and hatred. We have outgrown the frontier method of settling disputes by fighting in the street, and such methods cannot be tolerated; therefore an impartial and public tribunal is neces-

sary to arbitrate between the interested parties, who are apt to be blinded by self-interest.

A civilized, not to say a Christian, community will insist on weekly periods of rest for all classes of workers as a condition of national health. After long neglect Germany and France have at last introduced rather strict regulations on this subject in order to promote national vigor and power.

8. *Industrial insurance.*—The subject of insurance of workingmen and the provision for support in times of sickness, accident, unemployment, invalidism, and old age, or death of bread-winner, cannot be more than mentioned in this place. For a hundred years modern peoples tried to depend on individual initiative to secure the poorer workmen in such situations, and every effort has failed. Nothing short of state regulation and organization has succeeded in any country. America has been very slow to recognize this fact, but seems just now to be awakening to the demand for a form of insurance required by persons on small and uncertain incomes, and cheap enough for them to buy. There is a movement in the United States to promote this needed agency of the public welfare, for it will not do to leave the laborers to their fate and to offer them alms when they ought to have a just claim

on a fund to which they have contributed and can use in need without shame or disgrace.

9. *Provisions for the higher life.*—This social policy in the interest of the workingmen includes far more than protection of life, limb, and health. If the reader will turn back to the first chapter in this book, he may find there proof that humanity demands, not only health and income, but the goods of highest civilization—culture, art, religion. Social morality is not satisfied until every member of the community has a chance to enjoy every kind of good which the richest can enjoy. And this is quite possible. The best goods are not costly, for automobiles and display of jewels are not at all the best things in life; while love, pictures, music, and religion are of the highest, and by co-operation of all may be brought so near to every citizen and youth that they will provoke desire to possess them all. It is the moral and religious duty of a city, of a state, and of the nation to furnish the agencies of such co-operation; for it is utterly impossible for any individual to secure them for himself without joining hands with all others. In this lesson we have considered chiefly those measures which are absolutely necessary to protect life itself; but we must proceed to consider methods by which the entire community can act together to enrich life

thus preserved, and to make it grandly, nobly human. This part of the subject is so wide that it must be reserved for special discussion. Man cannot live without bread, but he cannot truly live by bread alone.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

These have been sufficiently indicated by the titles of the sections of this chapter. But in some classes discussions may arise over trade-unions, injunctions, treatment of non-union workmen, a just wage, Sunday rest, and many others. Probably, however, the topics suggested in the chapter will be enough for the discussions of many meetings. The class should remember the adage: "Truth is a precious pearl which divers can find only in calm water." When temper comes in, reason departs. A Christian should be willing to hear all sides fairly and soberly.

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CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL DUTIES IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

I. CHARACTERISTICS OF RURAL PROBLEMS

Most of the discussions familiar to readers of literature of social problems relate chiefly to the conditions of city life. The reasons for this fact are obvious. Authors and journalists generally reside in cities or large towns and they write about the experiences which immediately affect them. The more startling and sensational evils are revealed in cities; there poverty is most distressing, vice most hideous, crime most terrible, class struggles most fierce, the contrast of luxury and want most alarming and exasperating; there colossal fortunes tower above mean beggary, there monumental office buildings look down on crowded warrens of toilers and immigrants. The rapid growth of cities in recent times has thrust innumerable and vexatious problems of government and industry into our faces and brought men to a crisis where questions cannot be adjourned, where issues of life and death must be met by instant action. Therefore social problems are generally supposed to be only those of huge aggregations of population.

And even of late, since the improvement of

conditions in the country has become the object of more general interest, the problems of rural society are not always worthily stated for consideration. This judgment is the result of an impression made by the reading of a very large number of volumes and documents issued by the great government departments of agriculture, by institutions of education, and by writers of high authority on rural subjects. We need, in further discussion of social duties under rural conditions, to give a larger and worthier place to the ultimate values of life in relation to agriculture.[1] The defect in much that has been written about social life in the country is the relatively too great emphasis placed upon the wealth interest, on the industry of the farmer; he is treated too much as if he were merely a producer of certain commodities, merely a beast of burden like his patient oxen. It is too often assumed that the only scientific interest is in the larger production of corn, of milk and meat, of wool and cotton.

Therefore, in studying the moral obligations of a rural neighborhood, we must begin with the conception that the chief task of the farmer lies in the development of human personalities, in the cultivation of spiritual powers, in enriching the

[1] Here again, to avoid repetition, the reader is requested to keep in mind the analysis of social ends in the first chapter.

permanent self, and in sharing the highest goods of civilization on the widest possible scale. It is here assumed that the student has gained and holds this point of view, has already come to believe that a farmer has right to a full human life, to all that is essentially good, and that it is his duty to further this kind of life in the community. The worth and value of these ends being assumed for our purpose, we have here to consider some of those modes of conduct and those forms of institutional activity which are adapted to promote the accepted ends. This is the kind of conduct which alone can deserve the name of social morality. Exhaustive treatment is not here possible; the aim is limited to provoking investigation and indicating the way in which sound moral judgments can best be formed.

II. SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF RURAL WELFARE—ORDER, LIBERTY, AND OPPORTUNITY

1. *Order.*—It is too generally admitted to require proof, that civilization cannot move forward where life and property are insecure, where the strong-armed robber snatches away from the toiler the products of peaceful toil, where selfish and sensual men can gratify base appetites without restraint, where each man must go armed to his work and fortify his home. Obviously the first

duty of a community is to establish and maintain order. And since the local hamlet or township or isolated neighborhood is often unable to guard its fields, houses, treasures, and merchandise, the commonwealth must come to its aid with superior force. In some civilized countries a body of mounted police, under the direction of the chief officers of the state, patrol roads and lanes, while detectives follow thieves and other suspected persons and bring them to justice. Here let the student consider whether a rural police patrol would not make the life of farmers, especially of the women, more secure. What is the duty of the people of a state to the scattered persons who are kept in constant dread of vicious tramps and vagabonds, both white and black, who fill many rural homes with terror? When the police and courts fail to protect life and property, men are driven to resort to some form of lynch law, and this is wasteful and demoralizing. The class might well discuss this word of Professor Fairlie and test it by further inquiry into the facts:

A long line of judicial decisions has clearly established the rule of law in this country, that locally appointed police officers are not, strictly speaking, local officers, but are agents of the state governments for the maintenance of the public peace and order. In spite of this legal theory, there has been developed no effective state administrative control in this important branch of

local government. Some occasional and haphazard steps have been taken in many states but no systematic and permanent machinery has been established. . . . . Some supervision could be easily establishel by making the sheriffs more clearly responsible for police conditions in the local districts within their counties and requiring them to make regular reports to the governor or to some other state officer. To this might be added a regular inspection of the sheriffs in each state. . . . . Like the state supervision established in other lines, they would improve the work of local authorities. In a few states there have been established small bodies of state police for service throughout the state.

2. *Liberty.*—The maintenance of order should be discriminating or it will repress freedom. The soul of man must have room to think and his body room to act. An entire community sometimes becomes narrow, bigoted, selfish, blind, and in the name of order turns tyrant and puts out the light of science, chokes its best prophets. Only immoral and injurious citizens should walk in chains, and even they should be taught gradually to use liberty wisely. We boast of being "the land of the free" because our fathers have fought the battle of religious, civil, and social freedom for us. No longer is a man imprisoned or burned for his opinions in politics or theology. Yet many are not aware that in this very home of liberty there are large districts where a young physician dare not speak or write what he has

learned in schools of science without incurring a boycott of the church and consequent starvation, and where the teacher of biology in a high school is tempted to play the hypocrite to retain his chance to earn his living. There are many ways by which pious men suffocate the life of the Holy Spirit in man, and think sincerely they are doing God service, and this condition is more frequently found in villages than in cities. An intellectually dead hamlet knows more ways of tormenting a man who is too big for it than the Inquisition of Spain ever devised. This does not stop discussion, but it forces young men and women of talent to fly from the country and take refuge in towns where they are free even if poor. Many of the most relentless persecutors in past ages have been conscientious and religious. Criminals disturb order, and saints sometimes are foes to liberty, and the majority of good folks seem to care more for quiet than for truth.

3. *Opportunity.*—It is the duty of a community not only to protect order and grant reasonable freedom but also to furnish opportunity for all citizens to enter into life. A boy may be free to go where he will, but if he is not educated he remains a dwarf and starveling. Let members of the class look about them and discover instances of children growing up mutilated in soul

as they may be starved in body. There are entire townships where not one family has any incentive to do more than satisfy animal wants, although the soil is rich and the climate favorable. This is because they are cut off from centers of culture, as schools, churches, and means of information.

There must be equality of opportunity in respect to rights before the law, right to influence legislators, to serve the public according to ability, to move about in public places, to enjoy sanitary conditions of living, to have means of recreation and culture, to send children to free schools, to be protected in relations of employer and employed, to be treated with courtesy, whether rich or poor, and to share in general good will.[2] In this connection may be studied the value of a state system of free public schools, under central direction and supervision; of federation and co-operation of churches in a state in order to prevent waste of means, and to provide educational facilities for all citizens; of the national postal system as a means of extension of means of knowledge; of means of transportation, electric lines and improved roads.[3]

[2] Giddings, *Elements of Sociology*, p. 328.

[3] Problems of government in rural townships are ably discussed by J. A. Fairlie, *Local Government in Counties, Towns and Villages.*

III. CARE OF PUBLIC HEALTH IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

1. *Conditions of health.*—These are generally more favorable in the country than in the city: the light may fall into every room, and at work sunshine plays over the body. The air is purer, and exercise outside walls is part of the daily order of work. There is freedom from unnatural and perpetual excitement, noise, strain, close and superheated theaters, enticements to low vice, open saloons, and gambling-places.

But even in rural neighborhoods there is much preventable disease due to removable causes: improper food, neglect of ventilation, exposure to contagious and infectious disease, pollution of water and milk, injection of fever germs by insects, drains from kitchen reeking with poison. And there are causes of sickness which are only in part under human control: the hardship of labor especially at certain seasons, exposure to severe weather and extremes of temperature, worry incident to uncertainty of crops, the destruction of growing crops and cattle by the enemies of the farmer. To this one must add distance from physicians in emergencies, the want of nursing, and occasionally the improper physical habits of ignorance and the vices of human nature.

2. *Ameliorating methods.*—These may be found, and it is the duty of each community to discover and adopt such methods as experience approves. Illustrations may give hints to spur members of the class to further inquiry.

a) In the best schools instruction is given to children in relation to the structure and functions of the human body, anatomy, physiology, hygiene, house sanitation, cooking, foods, and first aid to the sick and injured.

b) But the instruction of childhood is not enough, and young people need to continue their studies by means of lectures, classes, and books carefully chosen by experts and not recommended by traveling peddlers. In several states the meetings of farmers' institutes, under the direction of experts in state agricultural colleges and with the aid of competent physicians, have done a valuable service. The talk and practice of the farm necessarily touch upon laws of health of animals, and occasionally greater care is given to domestic animals than to the family itself.

c) A significant movement is that to secure better hospital facilities and nursing in the country. In at least the chief county town there ought to be a public hospital for the treatment of medical and surgical cases which cannot so well be treated at home. These local hospitals also

become training schools for nurses, the supply of whom is woefully scant in many parts of the land. It seems entirely possible to provide visiting nurses who may go from house to house showing mothers and daughters how to care for their sick, to make beds, prepare special diet, dress sores and wounds, feed infants, and a thousand things for which a physician has no time and which only a carefully trained nurse knows how to do. In cities such nurses are sent by benevolent societies among the poor with great advantage. The only difficulty is that too many people are so ignorant of modern nursing that they imagine there is nothing to learn, and in that state of mind nothing is learned. Telephones and trolley lines are gradually improving medical service outside the towns.

d) There is more and more need of extending the authority and activity of the state boards of health into every township of each state. There ought to be a systematic supervision of the conditions of health and the causes of disease by some central authority so that not one district can be overlooked. Examples of what may be accomplished may be cited: the notification of contagious diseases, as scarlet fever, diphtheria, measles, etc., by placarding and prohibition of sending to school without medical permission. The disin-

fection of houses and clothing ought to be insured by vigilant officials responsible to the state. The means of transportation, now becoming more public, should be brought under systematic control. Vaccination must be made certain and not left to the whims and superstitions of the ignorant. Careful supervision of persons afflicted with tuberculosis should be part of the duty of local officers responsible to the state. It is important that dairies should be inspected and made sanitary not only in the interest of town customers but even more in the interest of dairymen and farmers. The bacteria which kill customers are not apt to spare the owners of a filthy stable. If the water used to wash the milk vessels or to dilute the milk for weak city stomachs is from a foul source it may punish the culprit who carelessly and wickedly uses it to wrong another. In the inspection of adulterated foods and medicines kept for sale to farmers it is not difficult to discover the advantage to the farmer.

Perhaps it may be to the immediate financial advantage of farmers to send young calves to market before they are fit for human food, or even to ship diseased chickens, hogs, and cattle; but no community can long tolerate such dishonesty and injurious conduct without inward debasement of character. And since local and

personal agents cannot be trusted, every man who sincerely desires to promote morality should endeavor to secure complete state supervision and control of all food materials. In the long run no community can secure the best prices in the market if it once gains reputation for indifference to the health of customers, if it becomes known for its dishonesty and recklessness of health and life. If its evil ways are due more to ignorance than to meanness, then a community should import experts competent to show what is right and wrong in the occupation which affects the physical welfare of the nation and its credit in foreign markets.

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I. P. Roberts, *The Farmstead,* chaps. vi, x, xii, xiv.

H. B. Bashore, M.D., *The Sanitation of a Country House.*

Also books on hygiene already mentioned.

IV. DUTIES OF RURAL COMMUNITIES IN RELATION TO INDUSTRY AND WEALTH

1. *Decisive factors in the situation.*—To discover moral obligations men must not merely inspect their inner selves, but the real facts outside; must study not merely ancient wisdom but the stern teachings of present experience. What are some of the facts which determine the direc-

tion of activity in farming regions? Only a brief hint here is possible.

a) The population of the nation depends on agriculture and its products—farmers, urban dwellers, merchants, professional persons—all. The primary industry, basis of all other social life, is that of farming. If the rural population went on a general and sympathetic strike for one season, famine would stalk in the cities. Assuming that life is good, and to support existence a primal duty, we have the foundation of obligation in this situation.

b) Agriculture rests most obviously on nature's gifts, or, speaking with the religious accent, on the direct gift of God. The soil, climate, and seasons fix the limits of possible production in a nation. But as this is a matter which man cannot control we may more profitably turn to facts which rest on human conduct and for which men are responsible.

c) We have seen above that health is a duty and here we come to the connection between production of good things and the vital energy which springs from health. A strong, well-fed, clean, sober people can and will do more to feed and clothe the nation, and make family, school, church, and government prosperous, than a feeble and sickly folk.

The social conditions of production are security of person and property, freedom to move and act, and opportunity to make the most of our powers. The intelligence of the rural population is a national asset, and especially that kind of intelligence which is concerned with the sciences and arts which quicken thought, train observation, and prepare the tiller of the soil to make it yield the largest possible product.

The life of the nation depends on the industry of those who occupy the tillable land. He who knows and yet stands idle will forget where he hid his talent in a napkin. Disposition to work steadily must be a social trait, common as hunger, or again famine snarls at the door. We might as well dwell on Sahara sands as on fertile prairies, if the people are loafers. Fortunately for idlers, most men are willing to toil. Industry is not merely a habit which benefits the worker; it has a social aspect and thus becomes moral.

2. *Value of natural and social science.*—At this stage of our study we come in sight of the vast field of natural science and of the social sciences. No men are so dependent for their best success and usefulness on a wide range of knowledge as farmers, unless it is editors. To take only a few illustrations: successful discharge of duty on the farm depends on knowledge of the

elements of soil on which plants are nourished, and this means chemistry. Stock raisers deal with various kinds of animals and must learn about selection of stock, nutrition, health, and disease, heredity and habit; and this means biology, botany, physiology, hygiene. The making of roads, ditches, bridges, dikes, buildings, involves laws of physics. Even to make a catalogue of the kinds of knowledge a farmer needs would require a pamphlet.

It follows as day follows night, that it is the duty of a rural community to educate itself, and as the soil wears out with bearing crops to make modern science perform for us the miracle of rendering worn-out soil more productive than virgin soil. The great Lincoln saw this need, and in the throes of civil war moved to establish agricultural colleges whose growth has been a blessing to mankind. Under the next head we shall attend to the agencies of education in rural communities.

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F. W. Woll, *Handbook for Farmers and Dairymen,* gives numerous references to the rich literature of the agricultural professions.

H. C. Taylor, *Agricultural Economics,* gives the economic principles of agricultural industry and trading.

G. T. Fairchild, *Rural Wealth and Welfare.*

L. H. Bailey, *The Principles of Agriculture,* and *The State and the Farmer.*

The sociological literature is meager.

The intimate relation between morality and daily practice is suggested by the following circular:

FARMERS' CO-OPERATIVE DEMONSTRATION WORK U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

At an early period it was found necessary to evolve from the mass of ethical teaching, a few general rules for living, called "The Ten Commandments," by which a man could be moral without going through a course in theology. Just so, in order to instruct the average farmer how successfully to conduct his farm operations so as to secure a greater net gain from the farm, it is necessary first to deduce from the mass of agricultural teachings a few general rules of procedure. They are called "The Ten Commandments of Agriculture," by the practice of which a man may be a good farmer in any state without being a graduate from a college of agriculture.

The Ten Commandments of Agriculture

1. Prepare a deep and thoroughly pulverized seed bed, well drained; break in the fall to the depth of 8, 10, or 12 inches, according to the soil, with implements that will not bring too much of the subsoil to the surface (the foregoing depths should be reached gradually).

2. Use seed of the best variety, intelligently selected and carefully stored.

3. In cultivated crops, give the rows and the plants in the rows a space suited to the plant, the soil, and the climate.

4. Use intensive tillage during the growing period of the crops.

5. Secure a high content of humus in the soil by the use of legumes, barnyard manure, farm refuse, and commercial fertilizers.

6. Carry out a systematic crop rotation with a winter cover crop on southern farms.

7. Accomplish more work in a day by using more horse-power and better implements.

8. Increase the farm stock to the extent of utilizing all the waste products and idle lands of the farm.

9. Produce all the food required for the men and animals on the farm.

10. Keep an account of each farm product, in order to know from which the gain or loss arises.

S. A. KNAPP

WASHINGTON, D. C.
July, 1908

V. DUTIES OF A RURAL COMMUNITY IN RELATION TO SPIRITUAL CULTURE

We have spoken of agriculture and now we must give heed to the greater matter of human culture, which is after all the ultimate form of all culture. Man makes himself better by improving the earth if he uses science as means and morality as way.

1. *Education in the family.*—Here we may refer to those works on education which treat of the development of young children. We may note the fact that in the country family life has a

relatively larger place in education than in the city where other influences play upon the child very early. In the country home parents have their children much to themselves without external distractions, and children soon begin to imitate and assist in the serious occupations of their elders. No city child has such a chance through infancy and early life to come into contact with nature in all her moods and aspects. All crafts are plied in simple form, domestic animals are about the home, plants are the constant subject of conversation, birds sing in the trees, flowers blossom everywhere, and the muscles of the body are called into exercise without artificial apparatus. But to make the best use of these fine advantages the community must furnish to parents instruction in the principles of education, so that each father and each mother may become an efficient teacher.

2. *The rural school.*—The problem of the kind of school that a rural community needs has received of late the attention its importance deserves. One of the most attractive and inspiring books thus affirms the ideal of a practical organizer of better methods:

> If I were to formulate an educational creed for the country school, it would contain but two articles namely: (1) the country child is entitled to every whit as good

an educational opportunity as that enjoyed by the most favored city child attending the American public school; (2) to secure this right for the country child the country people must expend more money on the country school and expend it in a better way.

Only a few points can be suggested for study: The rural school should furnish careful and modern guidance in the care of health; it should, as all admit, teach thoroughly the arts of reading, writing, and keeping accounts, and so give the key to all treasures of knowledge; it should open the eyes of the children to the myriads of interesting and beautiful objects which surround them; it should lead them to become interested in the arts of agriculture; it should awaken their artistic interest and enable them to express that interest in drawing and in color; it should give them a taste for literature and enable them to live a life of solitude without weariness and with the ability to deepen life by study and thought; it should prepare them to defend their rights and perform their duties as citizens of a republic and give them a large and just notion of duties in relation to international affairs. The school should be a center of the best influences of culture not only for children but for all citizens.

In order that the rural school may perform its high task it should be large enough to bring

together enough children and youth to make school life enthusiastic and interesting to pupils and teachers, and to warrant the expenditure of sufficient money to secure good teachers. Small schools should be united in larger schools and the children who are too far from the school to walk should be carried in vehicles provided as a necessary part of the school system.

It would hasten this movement for improvement if the central school authorities of the commonwealth were required by law to give more thorough supervision and direction especially to schools in backward districts, and furnished with the necessary means.

REFERENCES TO LITERATURE

The book of Mr. O. J. Kern, *Among Country Schools*, is itself a charming treatment of this subject, and on pp. 302–8 it gives a long list of books and magazine articles which need not be repeated in this place, since Mr. Kern's book is indispensable for anyone who seriously wishes to study the matter.

3. *The rural church.*—The duty of the rural community to its church is fixed by the nature of the work of the church. Religion is a universal need; communion with God is the heart of culture. The ideals of religion are the inspiration of science and the essence of morality. Life

is not fully human without prayer and faith. Sin needs rebuke, righteousness must be enforced and interpreted in terms of daily tasks, and for all this every community needs the church.

But a church cannot perform its task unless it has ministers who are intelligent, sufficiently educated, spiritual, devoted to their work, and who give themselves earnestly and constantly to this one thing.

The chief enemy of religion in the country is the diversion of forces. Each denomination feels required to keep a minister of its own kind in each locality; and the result is that salaries are small; the minister is starved physically and the people are starved spiritually. We have touched upon the wisdom of consolidating country schools so that teachers may be properly supported and suitable buildings and appliances be furnished; now we need to consolidate rural churches to avoid the deplorable and sinful waste which makes religious enterprises languish until the church itself brings religion into contempt. Improved country schools are making it impossible for the church to employ untrained and incompetent ministers; the young people simply will not listen to untaught preachers. Old people may go to sleep if the sermon is dull and meaningless, but young high-school pupils will slip away.

VI. FEDERATION OF FORCES

All social interests are woven together; a community whose income is too small cannot carry out common enterprises, provide good schools and churches, support teachers and ministers, and rise in civilization. The most vigorous and ambitious youth will take their chances in the large towns and cities and life will become stagnant in the country. Hence it is desirable to bring together the members of the community who have some desire to improve conditions of industry, health, and culture. The ministers, lawyers, physicians, teachers, and county superintendents, county officers, and farmers of light and leading may well form a federation of farmers' institutes, churches, schools, county fairs, literary clubs, and make studies of the entire field of health, industry, rural arts, domestic science, legal rights and duties, moral education, literary inspiration, reading, and spiritual life. Such federations are forming under various names in various parts of the country. An annual meeting may be held at which addresses are given by men and women who have studied the needs of rural conditions on the ground and have constructive suggestions for improvement to make. Grumblers dissipate energy. No person should be invited to speak

more than five minutes who is not known to have a practical plan for betterment.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

Suggestions for study of local conditions are furnished by the titles of each paragraph in this chapter; but others will grow out of these, out of reading the books recommended and out of references of the programme committee of the class.

REFERENCES TO LITERATURE

In addition to books and articles mentioned in connection with preceding paragraphs we may refer to the two papers on the "Rural Community," by Weber and Butterfield, in the *Report of the Congress of Arts and Science,* Vol. VII, and K. W. Butterfield, *Chapters in Rural Progress.*

CHAPTER VII

URBAN LIFE: PUBLIC HEALTH

We have seen that the duties of the members of a community are the modes of conduct required by conditions of general welfare in that community. The conditions of modern city life are exceedingly complex and the duties of responsible citizens are correspondingly intricate and difficult to understand. A few general maxims about virtue and honesty are an inadequate equipment for one who would helpfully take part in helping men to better life in a huge town.

At first glance the superficial observer discovers nothing but a multitude of people scurrying in all directions, each intent on some private scheme; the general welfare is not in all his thoughts. Further reflection offers apology for this concentration of interest in self; each man must earn his living by assiduous industry or fall a burden on the city as pauper or thief. For the most part the common good is increased as every individual does the best he can for himself and is faithful to his own duty. There is so much eternal truth in the old-fashioned doctrine of individualism and liberty. Even yet there are able thinkers who believe and teach that nothing

more is needed than freedom for each man to go his own way, "hoe his own row," and provide for his own wants; that the social well-being is the certain result of the sum of the enjoyment and satisfactions of all individuals; that the selfishness of millions works better than deliberate co-operation. And we admit that nothing will ever make personal initiative, energy, industry, and thrift needless. When a man depends on his neighbors to bring him material support and provide him with pre-digested ideas, he soon becomes a parasite and his powers fall to decay.

But individualism and liberty are words which represent only one aspect of human life; for each person is a social being, owes much to society, cannot live alone, cannot ignore the rights of others, cannot produce all the commodities he requires, cannot walk on a pavement without regard to his fellow-citizens, cannot judge his own cause fairly, cannot cure his own diseases or dress his own wounds, cannot defend himself unaided against epidemic, burglary, or riot, cannot furnish his children with schools, cannot enjoy the highest forms of art and religion. And even individual virtue—if such there be—is at its best only when enforced by social opinion, criticism, or law, and encouraged by social praise and honor. "No man liveth to himself."

It is in the city that we find human solidarity in its most impressive forms, for there each citizen is enmeshed in a network of relations, influences, and obligations unknown to the isolated farmer or dweller in a village. This labyrinth of conditions can here be outlined only in a general way:

> The moral ideal involved in social life presents itself .... in the three forms of institutions to be maintained, duties to be fulfilled, and a type of life to be realized. At different stages of development, and in different races of mankind, it tends to present itself more distinctly in one or other of these forms. Thus the Jews thought chiefly of Commandments, the Greeks chiefly of Virtues, and perhaps the Romans attached most importance to the maintenance of social institutions. But, in whatever form the moral life is conceived, the good citizen may be said to derive from these general conceptions of its nature the principles by which his life is guided.[1]

Before we can know what duties grow out of urban conditions we must know what those conditions are. Hence we must make:

I. AN ANALYSIS OF THE STRUCTURE OF A CITY

1. *The plan of the city streets.*—No two cities are alike, as a glance at maps of New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco, New Orleans, and of European cities

[1] Mackenzie, *Manual of Ethics*, p. 370.

will quickly show. The curve of a lake or ocean shore, the steep hills, the narrow island, the extended marsh or plain determine the direction of growth and the arrangement of ways; while the fancy of architects and engineers, as at our national capital, seeking beauty and impressiveness, may fix the lines of streets for centuries to come.

The streets are lined with buildings for all purposes—private residences for the most part, warehouses for storage, factories, mills, mercantile establishments, parks, museums of art, public edifices for education and justice. In variety there is unity and all cities have certain essential features in common.

2. *Arrangements for transportation and travel.* —The street itself is made for the free movement of human beings, and goods for manufacture, sale, and consumption. No individual is permitted to own and control a street; it is always public property and devoted to community uses. Whatever be the goal of the moving citizen he must reach it by walking or riding over a public way, whether at a level with the surface, or above or below it. When one leaves the door of a private home and steps upon a sidewalk he is in another world, a world of the common rule. "Keep to the right as the law directs," for law

is one method of telling the individual to observe the convenience of all. On a rural highway pedestrians may safely walk; in a city the road and pavement are separated to avoid danger; vehicles have right of way on the road and pedestrians on the sidewalk. Crossings are debatable ground and when crowded are full of danger.

In cities the means of transportation are more socialized than in farming districts where each family has its own means of conveyance. Only the rich can have carriages and automobiles; most of the people use public carriages driven by electricity. These means of transportation are rarely owned by individuals, but generally by corporations, occasionally by the city. The community must make regulation to protect various interests by means of contracts in granting franchises. Private interest has never yet been adequate protection for the rights of the public; the community must guard itself with utmost vigilance and by the best methods.

3. *Means of communication* must be maintained for the inhabitants of a city, because industries, recreations, medical service, trade, spiritual intercourse depend on them. Hence the creation and maintenance of postal routes, telegraphs, telephones, and messenger service.

4. *Standards of precision.*—Through ignorance, negligence, or fraud customers may suffer loss and injury in purchase of commodities; hence the need of public scales, inspectors of weights and measures used by tradesmen, public clocks, inspection of the purity and good measure of medicines, milk, and foods. Morality of action becomes more exact with improvement in weights and measures, and mathematical precision is an ideal of conduct.

5. *Protection.*—On the frontier and on isolated farms each man must in some measure guard his own person, property, and family. In cities this is impossible in the same degree. For extinguishing fires we must organize trained and professional men in fire departments; for detecting and arresting criminals cities must have a police department; while general ordinances forbid selfish individuals to jeopardize the public by building with wood where stone, brick, and iron are necessary to restrict the ravages of conflagration. The whim and caprice of individual liberty are restrained in order that all may be free from danger and fear. On a farm, decaying matter left exposed may not be very offensive or dangerous, and it may even be made useful as fertilizer by covering it with earth; but in a crowded city such conduct would be deadly, for there life

depends on quick removal of all organic matter. If a person pleads his right to live as he did on his farm, and to do what he pleases with his own property, he injures his neighbor and soon finds himself in the grip of the law. Streets, alleys, and courts must be lighted all night to facilitate movement and to make attacks of thieves more difficult and rare.

II. SOCIAL DUTIES IN RELATION TO PUBLIC HEALTH IN CITIES

Public health is affected by the customary conduct of individuals, by social conventions and fashions, by legal requirements enforced by public administration. Assuming that it is the duty of each citizen to refrain from injurious actions and positively to promote the conditions of physical well-being, since these belong to the primer of morality, we proceed to map out some of the main lines of conduct required by urban life. It will soon be evident that upright motives alone are not all of duty: that "hell is paved with good intentions," that virtue is a poor ghost until it takes bodily form in customs, institutions, laws, and agencies.

1. The first duty of the good citizen is to study under the best teachers the laws of hygiene and sanitation. If we cannot say that knowledge is

part of duty we surely can assert that an earnest, persistent, and life-long study of the laws of health is a duty we owe ourselves, our children, and our neighbors. Ill-health undermines personal usefulness and industrial efficiency, and is transmitted in some defect to offspring; while communicable disease hurts or kills our neighbors. Disease, therefore, is no mere individual interest, but affects the welfare of the community.

Elementary instruction in anatomy, physiology, and hygiene is now generally given to children and youth in our public schools. But the knowledge acquired at so early a period is necessarily limited; its principles make slight impression on heedless youngsters who fancy they have exhaustless stores of vitality; while many important problems of public methods of guarding against disease and accidents cannot be understood until judgment has been matured by longer experience. Furthermore, only adults can proceed from such studies to associated action, and new knowledge is constantly coming to light through the investigations of scientific men in practice, in hospitals, and in laboratories.

We can here attempt nothing more than to set forth a series of topics for discussions in a class of adults. The fundamental facts and principles, as well as practical maxims, should be given

by physicians or cited from books.[2] In no case should such general information as can be gathered in these ways lead one to neglect the advice of reputable physicians in illness; and for the administration of public measures specially trained medical men ought to be elected or appointed. Through all these discussions we may reverently remember the profound interest which Jesus manifested in the health and the sickness of men, and the affectionate title which Paul applied to Luke, "the beloved physician."

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Reasons for bathing; means for taking baths; methods of bathing.

2. Diet: the constituents of food and drink; kinds of vegetable and animal foods, adaptation to age, sex, condition of health, occupation. (See chaps. iii, iv of this series for further topics and references.)

3. Sleep, quiet, recreation: the physical need, the ways of securing what is required.

4. Physical exercise: various effects on body; adaptation to various classes of persons.

5. Clothing: materials, uses, adaptation to climate, seasons, and personal peculiarities.

6. Sexual hygiene: Secure circulars from the Society of Social Hygiene, Chicago, or Society of Moral Prophylaxis, New York (see chapter on "Family," above). Printed matter on this subject should not be used with

[2] See, for instance, H. N. Martin, *The Human Body*, and Charles Harrington, *A Manual of Practical Hygiene*.

children and young persons; they should be taught by parents or be taken to a high-minded physician to be instructed how to take care of themselves. None should be left to seek the coveted knowledge from unclean lips or from mercenary advertising quack doctors.

With the aid of lectures by physicians, factory inspectors, commissioners of health, and books cited, the following social measures may well be discussed in church classes of adults, men or women, and co-operation with health authorities should grow out of the discussion:

7. Legal measures for preventing the adulteration of food, milk, water, and other beverages, as mentioned already in chaps. iii and iv; inspection of grocery stores; pure-food laws; rules and work of boards of commissioners of health; control of dairies and milk stations by authorities.

8. Legal measures for keeping the air free from dust, smoke, noxious and disagreeable odors; municipal ordinances, enforced by the police and board of health.

9. Public methods of keeping the soil free from contamination, as by excessive moisture in cellars, neglect of drainage and sewers, accumulation of heaps of decaying matter, garbage, and refuse from factories; duties of commissioners of health, police, and mayors; duties of school board in relation to schools; inquiry whether the officials do their duty.

10. Agencies of the community for providing a plentiful and cheap supply of pure water, for preventing the pollution of springs, lakes, and streams; national and state laws, city ordinances. Inquire how well these agencies perform their functions.

11. The class may well study the various methods used

by cities for harmless disposal of sewage and inquire as to the working of the local system.

12. What are the various methods of disposing of garbage; what is the best method; and what are the facts about the local methods?

13. In cities great care must be taken to provide public control by experts of disinfection of houses, clothing, bedding, sleeping-cars, etc.

14. It is well known that insects, as common house flies, mosquitoes, fleas, bedbugs, are the means of conveying the germs of disease, as yellow fever, malaria, typhoid fever, etc. Domestic animals, as cats and dogs, may carry the germs from house to house, and rats are guilty of homicide in a similar way, though not regarded as pets.

15. Vaccination is ignorantly opposed by a few fanatical persons, in spite of the overwhelming evidence of its value in suppressing smallpox; and the use of antitoxin in averting or curing diphtheria is antagonized on the same grounds.

16. Quarantine methods are chiefly of interest in seaport cities and they are in the hands of national authorities; but municipal health authorities are under obligation to prevent the spread of disease by isolating houses where there is scarlet fever or diphtheria, and posting notices of warning on the doors to protect visitors from exposure.

17. State and municipal authorities have yet before them a wide field of usefulness in which they will need the support of public opinion in discovering and preventing the diseases which are caused by occupations: air vitiated by respiration in closely packed workrooms; irritating and poisonous gases and fumes, dust-laden

atmosphere, charged with deadly germs; work-places where the laborer passes quickly from extremes of heat to extreme cold, where the place is damp and dark, where the air pressure is so strong, as in tunnel construction, as to destroy or impair the organs of hearing and even heart action; occupations unfit for women or children.

This is the place for frank speech about the "Christian Science" movement in which many estimable people are interested. Toward those who have committed themselves to this cult in good faith we have none but the kindest attitude; and we are aware that many sincere men and women have found in the creed of the new church a real satisfaction of their spiritual hunger. We do not pretend to judge the motives of the members of their congregations, and so far as the topic of this chapter is concerned we have nothing whatever to do with interior and invisible qualities of mind and heart. We are seeking an entirely objective standard of testing conduct by its tendency to hinder or promote public health. Space will not permit the writer to offer the evidence for his personal conviction that much of what goes under the name of "healing" among these people is mere quackery and should be brought under legal control. Preventive and curative medicine, in the really scientific sense, requires prompt diagnosis of abnormal conditions by a trained medical man, and in case of con-

tagious diseases quarantine, notification, isolation, disinfection, vaccination, employment of antitoxin in certain instances, and thorough control of the patient by competent persons. Certainly it is not too much to demand that anyone professing to be a "healer" should pass a medical examination and give proofs of being competent to act in accordance with the best light of modern science, and severe penalties should be provided for violation of such laws made for the protection of the ignorant and of the general public. This is admitted by "scientists" for dentists and surgeons, but it is far more necessary for those who claim to heal nervous diseases where an early and accurate diagnosis is essential to successful treatment and where the trouble is complicated and obscure. Now the authoritative sacred books of "Christian Science," if I can make out their meaning, expressly forbid the faithful to do any of the things mentioned which modern science requires. It is true that in extreme pain and danger the faithful are often illogical and contradict their creed by seeking competent medical help, but this is often too late; the mischief is done; the disease has advanced too far or has spread deadly contagion to others. Since this paragraph is intended only to open a large problem and not at all to close discussion, the question

is left with the reader whether it is too strong language to call this part of the conduct of "Christian Scientists" immoral in the sense in which that word is used throughout this volume, that is as relating to conduct which tends to impair the physical and spiritual health of the community. That "mental therapeutics" ought to receive larger consideration from medical men, and that the new cult has compelled physicians to give the subject more adequate treatment, medical men themselves seem generally ready to admit. Experiments in this field, however, since they involve dangers to the most delicate structure of the body, that is, to the nervous system, should, like vivisection, be permitted only to thoroughly trained professional men. If the "healers" can furnish men of this kind of equipment they should be left free to advance science and the healing art under the guarantees required by the wisest laws of all civilized lands.

Tuberculosis is a very common disease, rarely inherited but often communicated from person to person by contact, kissing, or through the air. The germs of this disease are coughed up by the patient and after being dried are carried in dust to the lungs of others, or left on the rims of drinking cups. During recent years this lingering, impoverishing, fatal plague has been some-

what reduced by effective measures to destroy the germs.[8]

Health depends very much on economic well-being and on intelligence and morality. For example, a working man with consumption may have good medical advice, and know that to get well he must have expensive rich food, rest, and easy life in the open air. But he feels that his family must be supported and so he works on in desperation until he can no longer lift his hand, meantime exposing his mates to infection. If, as in Germany, all working men were required by law to pay a few cents each month out of wages into a fund, and if employers were required to add a substantial sum, a fund would be created which would pay for support and medical care for all the sick; families would not have to go begging, relief societies would not be overwhelmed as now, and thousands of useful men would be restored to health and self-support. To secure such legislation intelligence on the subject must be made universal. Here we find an illustration of our principle that social duties are

[8] The class secretary or leader should correspond with Professor J. Pease Norton, New Haven, Connecticut, secretary of the American Health League, and seek to increase the membership and influence of that society which seeks means of promoting public health. A local advisory council might well be formed to co-operate with the national organization.

defined by the sum of all the elements which are necessary to the common welfare. This chapter is, therefore, incomplete in itself and should be studied in connection with all that precedes and follows.

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CHAPTER VIII

URBAN LIFE: ECONOMIC INTERESTS

The supply of the material means of existence and of culture is fundamental, and social morality is here put to the most severe tests.

1. *There are certain old-fashioned industrial virtues* which have been taught from ancient times by sages and moralists and which never in this world will be obsolete—the duty of useful work and of thrift. The idler and the spendthrift have always been recognized as pests. We do not wish to diminish respect and zeal for these very respectable virtues; but they are already honored sufficiently, at least with lip service and pen service, enforced by cold and hunger, and we are now occupied with duties which demand social organization of modern types and full co-operation of great communities. All pulpits and Sunday-school leaflets reiterate millions of times the duty of labor and saving, but they have hardly begun as yet to teach the nature of moral obligations which arise out of recent organizations of urban enterprises.

2. *In the case of common wealth in cities* it is not necessary to have actual ownership of desirable objects of certain kinds in order to enjoy

them. Numerous examples may be cited. Thus all men walk on public pavements or ride on streets which are not controlled by any particular person. The rapidly extending areas devoted to parks are better than private grounds fenced in and burdened with interest and taxes. In each school district is a public building with its grounds owned and kept in good condition by the city, while teachers and janitors serve rich and poor alike. The city hall, the courts of justice, the public library, are common wealth; they are not ostentatious marks of selfish distinction which set apart a rich person from his kind and awaken envy, but they minister to the needs of all.

Men complain that taxation becomes heavier every decade, and this is true. It is unfortunate when the money thus collected is stolen by "grafters" or squandered by inefficient officials. But such waste is not necessary and will not occur when more men and women apply their consciences and intelligence to the accounts of municipal officers. But in spite of abuses urban communities are acquiring enormous amounts of this community wealth.

There is much common wealth which is nominally owned by private associations but actually used by the public. Thus millions of dollars are pouring into the endowments of universities, col-

leges, art museums, scientific museums, libraries, orchestra halls, music halls, settlements, old people's homes, day nurseries, summer vacation colonies and camps for city children and their weary mothers, hospitals and asylums of all kinds.

Property held by churches is usually freely open to the public and its ministries are given without price to those who cannot or will not pay for them, although some churches are too much like private clubs of pew-holders who desire to travel to heaven in private cars. More than all other buildings, a church should be treated as common property, and it is freed from taxation on this ground. A church whose doors are not open freely and frequently is morally bound to pay taxes; and in addition, to be honest, it should cease to pretend to be a Christian church; it uses the name of Christ in vain; it is lying.

Thus in many ways our cities are coming rapidly into possession of a vast amount of material wealth which is at the service of all citizens, rich and poor. The tendency to increase this desirable social possession may be promoted by teaching rich men that investment in goods accessible to all is morally better than what they spend in personal luxury; and this lesson may properly be enforced by taxation on the basis of

personal expenditures. It is true that the power to tax may be abused, may so burden and cripple industry as to reduce the sum of wealth annually produced. The rich man who invests his money in business and directs useful production is serving his country as truly as when he gives liberally to libraries, colleges, and museums of art. The annual appropriation of private income for public uses has strict limits, and this is expressed in the old adage that it is poor policy to "kill the goose which lays golden eggs." Taxation on the visible and ostentatious expenditures of wealthy persons would not discourage production so much as our present methods of taxation. For example, automobiles are properly required to pay an annual license fee. Mr. Andrew Carnegie recommends a rather heavy inheritance tax and enforces his view with the hint that a city or state should not hinder the bees while they are at work but take a good share of the honey when the hive is full.

3. *Taxation* is the method by which private property is devoted to immediate or permanent social uses.[1] We have elsewhere shown that present methods of taxation in cities are a direct occasion of fraud, inequality of burdens, and

[1] This subject receives special discussion in another chapter.

injustice. Radical reformation is called for by social ethics.

4. *The care of health* is an economic duty. The vigor, efficiency, and productive power of the working people depend primarily on their freedom from disease and the favorable physical conditions of home, street, shop, and work-place. These favorable conditions cannot be secured without intelligent city government supported by the public well instructed in the laws of hygiene. Here we see and appreciate the vital connection of health and economic welfare with the courses of study in public schools, night schools, and popular lecture courses. We may cite a few sentences in illustration from the "Public Health Catechism" of the American Health League:[2]

> Because of the deplorable ignorance and indifference of the general public on health problems, which permits the ravages of preventable disease and the misery arising from unhygienic methods of living, protection is necessary. . . . . It has been estimated that the waste from sickness and death amounts in dollars alone to more than $3,000,000,000 annually, of which a large amount—over one billion dollars—is undoubtedly preventable.

Several diseases have either been extinguished or reduced to small proportions: as leprosy, by isolating patients; small-pox, by vaccination; scurvy,

[2] Other publications may be had from the office of the League, 69 Church Street, New Haven, Conn.

by supplying sailors with lime juice; yellow fever, by quarantine; diphtheria, by antitoxin; typhoid fever, by public water filters and other means; tuberculosis, by sanatoria, anti-spitting ordinances, and education of the public. The statistics of mortality show progress through science and general education and improved sanitary arrangements. In London in the seventeenth century the death rate averaged 80 per thousand, as against 24 today. In the eighteenth century the death rate in Boston was 37 per thousand as against 25 today. In New York, when Colonel Waring kept the streets clean in 1896, the death rate was 21½; in the previous decade it averaged 25, the minimum being 23. Since 1896 it has risen. The introduction of a water filter in the town of Lawrence, Mass., in 1893, was followed by a reduction in deaths from typhoid to one-sixth the previous number. The death rate from tuberculosis has been reduced in fifteen years to less than two-thirds its former amount in many localities.

The same catechism shows that much remains to be done. Tuberculosis could be exterminated in a comparatively short time if the public could be prevented from spitting out infection, and induced to live and sleep with proper ventilation. Trichinotic and ptomaine poisoning could be escaped by avoiding the use of diseased meat

from our slaughter-houses. Typhoid fever could practically be abolished by improving our milk and water supplies and by the prevention of the pollution of our rivers. Alcoholism and the other evils of intemperance are avoidable by temperance; sexual diseases, by improvement in social hygiene; heart and kidney diseases, by adopting the "simple life." Experiments with nine healthy students showed that by dietetic care and thorough mastication, muscular endurance could be doubled in less than half a year.

These are some of the facts which determine the duty of each city to systematize the campaign for increasing economic power through improving the knowledge and conduct of the people in regard to health.

5. *Efficient and thrifty city administration.*— Corrupt, venal, and stupid administration takes the earnings of a hard-working population, wastes them, steals them, enriches schemers at the expense of the people, and finally gives little service for excessive expenditures. Every young man and woman of education should give all possible study and attention to the city-hall servants of the public; should try to learn what are the legal duties and powers of their elected officers and what they accomplish.[3] Vague general charges

[3] See W. H. Allen, *Efficient Democracy*, for arguments and

do no good and are very apt to be ignorant and unjust; for even as it is city officials usually render valuable service. To reward and punish with discrimination and effect we must find out and publish exactly what every form of service costs and what it accomplishes, and the precise persons who are responsible for success or failure. A false charge is met with resentment and a true charge not proved destroys the influence of the man who accuses the public officer.

6. *Public utilities.*—Wherever there is reasonable prospect of profits private interest will find capital and organize a business.[4] There is no necessity of setting the ponderous machinery of city government to work wherever any considerable number of persons offer money, on profitable terms, for the supply of the satisfactions they crave, whether it be houses, food, water, pictures, songs, dramas, books, temples, railways, aeroplanes, lighting, luxuries, or even vicious indulgence. Competitors can always be found, those who for mercenary motives will offer their services, no matter how degraded the office. Money

devices. The Bureau of Municipal Research in New York City is a recent organization of private citizens, with expert accountants and lawyers for advisers, who are determined to discover and correct abuses in various departments of urban administration.

[4] T. Veblen, *Theory of Business Enterprise.*

will buy anything of someone; and in fact companies of men will fight, secretly or openly, buy votes, and bribe senates or courts, if possible, for the chance of catering to the lowest appetites of mankind. Therefore we might leave lucrative trades to ordinary commercial motives. But from all this we cannot conclude that the city government should always refrain from attempting to deal with the questions of supply of services and material goods.

In the first place some of the material needs of the inhabitants of cities cannot be supplied in a way which will bring profits to private contractors. For example, in every urban community sewage and garbage must be removed and dust laid or prevented; and since these processes do not offer a profit, the people must require the service of its government, although even here contractors may sometimes be employed. The motive of profit will bring organized capital into lively action, but that motive cannot be relied on to protect the public against dishonest, avaricious, and unscrupulous contractors. Hence the necessity of supervising, regulating, and controlling the firms or companies which furnish transportation, gas, water, or light to a city. In connection with its own agencies of police, fire department, public schools, and libraries a city government

must transact business on a large scale, as also in the supply of fuel, lights, vehicles, care of buildings and parks. City administration cannot escape financial transactions.

Many political writers and even practical men of affairs go much farther and advocate a great extension of municipal activities in connection with public utilities and monopolies. Thus there cannot conveniently and economically exist in the same territory two water companies, two gas companies, and an indefinite number of electric-lighting and telephone companies; for each will tear up the streets, hinder traffic, lay out expense for which consumers must pay, and finally annoy the public by their duplication and conflicts of systems. Since there cannot be more than one system of public utilities in the same area, that system is necessarily a monopoly, and, in the absence of competition or regulation, will charge consumers all they will endure, and continue to buy the service or commodity on a profitable scale. The business motive is profits, not public service or philanthropy.

Out of this situation has arisen a controversy in Europe and America which has grown exceedingly bitter and partisan, so that even the most intelligent and honest students find it difficult to get at the facts. All we can here attempt is to

open the subject and give references to works which seem worthy of consideration. As every voter is called on in some way to pass judgment on this controversy, it is his duty to make his voting power felt with as full knowledge and as sober a mind as he can command. It is evident that some forms of public utilities are more easily managed by city officials than others, because they are more simple, regular, and certain. For example, a city administration can conduct water works fairly well and yet fail in directing the more complicated machinery of street railways.

The student may exercise his moral judgment by impartially weighing the arguments for the two policies in controversy. The general considerations urged in favor of the private ownership and management of such public utilities as lighting and transportation are such as these: Public ownership and administration are more expensive, because private business managers are more alert, skilful, active, and economical than public officials, especially where, as in American cities, the officials so generally secure their places through party influences, rather than by special fitness and training. The directors of profit-seeking enterprises, having their own investments at stake, will not tolerate waste, indolence, and

neglect, where public officials are frequently careless and easy-going with employees who have votes to consider. It is also claimed that the administrators of public works are slow to introduce new inventions while private managers are quick to avail themselves of the best devices. Again it is asserted that public ownership tends to introduce socialism and thus to suppress the energy and initiative of private enterprise. It is further asserted that when a city government conducts a business at a loss it can compel taxpayers to make good this loss; and this means that the losing business is partly supported at the expense of well-managed and profitable private business. Thus there is an annual deficit in the United States Postal Department, much larger than is generally known or published, since in accounts nothing is said of interest on buildings; and this deficit must be met out of the income of persons engaged in agriculture, transportation, manufactures, and other employments. It is also affirmed, with much evidence, that the accounts of municipal bureaus are often so confused and juggled that taxpayers never can find out how much the loss really is.

On the other hand, we must consider arguments in favor of enlarging the economic activities of city governments. It is asserted that the

people of a city ought to be supplied with objects of universal utility, necessities of life, without dependence on monopolies, at bare cost, without paying profits to private parties. It is said that the employees of a city will be more humanely treated and better paid, will have shorter hours and less intense and exhausting labor, than if they are controlled by private corporations. It is said that we shall get better government when the cities undertake great enterprises and make it an object for capable and ambitious business men to seek the responsibilities of the public service.

If private ownership and management of public utilities is the system chosen by a city, there are certain interests which must be guarded in some legal way. In making contracts or granting franchises the city government should protect consumers from exorbitant prices and defective service, and should make regulations which will protect the employees of the companies from abuse and injury.

It must never be forgotten that public funds are not unlimited; that there is no source of means for parks, schools, playgrounds, fine buildings, except the product of industry and business; that cost must be considered; and that the most severe sacrifices must be borne by the smaller taxpayers in the form of higher rent for houses

and greater cost of food and clothing. Every common laborer pays taxes on the necessities of life, even if he does not know it, and he pays taxes just where they hurt most.

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CHAPTER IX

URBAN EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES

I. THE ENDS HERE TO BE SPECIALLY CONSIDERED

1. *Diffusion of knowledge.*—It is the duty of every city to provide means for the discovery and diffusion of knowledge useful to the people.

a) The duty of discovering new truth is rarely recognized; it is an aspect of morality which has only of late received any general consideration, and in some circles, especially in some parts of the church, in respect to the highest and most important subjects, it is often regarded as something nearly wicked to suggest that humanity has anything yet to learn. We have as a people been too contented to ship hogs and grain to Germany and import ideas. The love of truth has meant to many chiefly a sort of blind loyalty to tradition and primary instruction in the "three R's." Happily we are entering on a new era. Cities are beginning to establish laboratories for the discovery of the causes of disease; they are inviting expert statisticians, economists, and masters of administrative science to utilize the records of their experience for the promotion of science, just as eminent physicians utilize the clinics of public hospitals

for increasing knowledge of the causes and laws of sickness and health. The Bureau of Municipal Research in New York City has demonstrated the value of scientific investigation of public accounts. Practical business men can form reasonable judgments of methods of officials only when they are furnished the facts. Before knowledge can be popularized it must be acquired by way of scientific research. Most of the investigative work of this kind has thus far been done by private societies; part of it might well be done by public officers chosen for the purpose. In this field the federal government has done admirable work, as in the Department of Agriculture. Each city should form an alliance with experts in Universities for the promotion of research.

b) Our public-school system is the chief social means of communicating to youth the knowledge already acquired by men of science. There is general agreement that at least the elements of education should be offered to all children; and the tendency is to open freely to all who have capacity the advantages of higher education without cost for tuition in state supported institutions. Our generation has inherited a rich spiritual legacy from all the past, the estate of science, the fund of thought about the worlds of nature and of human life—astronomy, chemistry,

physics, geology, botany, zoölogy, biology, psychology, and the social sciences, as well as the sciences dealing with language, literature, and religion. The great social problem is to divide equitably this spiritual estate so that no heir shall be robbed of his share.[1]

2. *Art education* is part of the task of our public schools. The end of this form of instruction is appreciation of the beauty in the world, the attainment of critical standards of judgment and selection, the awakening and training of creative power in born artists among the people, the tasteful adornment of persons and homes, and the improvement in the quality and price of the products of industry, as well as increase of satisfaction in work itself. With advance of aesthetic culture more persons will find themselves in a nobler and more attractive world; drawing, painting, modeling, sculpture, architecture, engraving, music, eloquence, poetry, will arouse higher interests and elevate the plane of living.

3. *Fellowship.*—The nation, said Gladstone, is divided into two hostile camps. It is increasingly difficult for employers and employees, bankers and mechanics, clergymen and trade-unionists to understand each other. The air is full of suspicion, distrust, envy, hatred, malice, grudge,

[1] See L. F. Ward, *Applied Sociology.*

revenge, and these passions are inflammable and explosive; the peace, order, and unity of city, state, and nation are always in serious peril. "Class consciousness" has taken possession of a large and growing part of the wage-earning world and set it in hostile array against the employers and their associates. In American cities the economic differences are embittered by racial prejudices and by sectarian passions. We may reasonably hope that in the future, in some way not yet clear, these rancors may be abated; but just at present the outlook has many suggestions of evil. To us who believe that the normal attitude of man to man is not that of tiger or wolf, but of brother and citizen of a commonwealth, this social hostility, this disintegration of fellowship, this persistent misunderstanding is a threat and a source of sorrow and misgiving. It grieves us to see that a multitude of our fellow men carry their resentment and enmity against the employing class into their relations to the church.

Therefore the church, along with the responsible directors of industry, and representatives of art, science, and patriotism, is interested in any methods which promise to further sincere, cordial and wholesome friendship between citizens. This can never be through any form of philanthropy

with a taint of charity; it must come in a form which will recognize the sense of justice, fairness, and self-respect of the workingmen as having of right a secure place in the republic; it must come from a common view of the universal and highest interests of humanity which will lift us all above the petty, mean, and inhuman passions of cliques, castes, and classes.

4. *Morality, patriotism, and religion* are ends of education; and all worthy schemes of culture will advance goodness, justice, love of fatherland, and faith in reasonable religion.

II. THE INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES OF EDUCATION IN CITIES[2]

1. Each city now has its own system, under state laws: kindergartens, elementary schools, secondary or "high" schools, and in New York City and Cincinnati even a college or university.

2. In most cities there are private and parochial schools of all grades, from kindergarten to university and professional schools. The policy of our government is to grant full liberty in the field of education, and this freedom has led to abuses

[2] Full statistics relating to urban and other schools are found in the reports of the United States commissioner of education. Various state and city reports of school authorities may also be obtained.

which call for correction. Any person, group of persons, corporation, or church is permitted unhindered to establish and maintain schools for children and youth. Sectarian convictions have induced the members of some denominations to maintain institutions where their peculiar views can be impressed on the rising generations, and as the public schools are frequently forbidden to teach even unsectarian religion, those who regard piety as an essential part of general culture make sacrifices to have their children brought up under church influences. Frequently this conviction demands great sacrifices of them, for they must pay a double tax for schools, one for public schools and another for parochial schools. This is particularly true of our Roman Catholic and Lutheran neighbors. By many citizens this is thought to be unjust, and it is often urged that, as in parts of Canada, the church schools should have a share of funds raised by taxation, or that the taxes collected from Catholics should go to their own schools. It does appear to be desirable that some mode of relieving conscientious citizens from an unequal burden might be found without jeopardizing the free public schools. When the private and Church institutions fall below the standard required by state laws, they should be compelled to raise their standards by means of

public inspection and control. To this those who maintain parochial schools would not object.

3. Museums, libraries, and laboratories for the promotion of scientific investigation are receiving attention in cities and in some cases their buildings, collections, and appliances attract students from afar.

4. Education in art is promoted in public schools by lessons in drawing, modeling, painting, and artistic workmanship in various crafts. Special art schools are usually founded and maintained in the larger urban centers by private associations which provide for instruction in drawing, painting, sculpture, architecture, music, drama.

The collections of casts, engravings, and pictures are growing more extensive and valuable as auxiliaries to art instruction as well as means of increasing the aesthetic enjoyments of the people.

5. Among the important privileges of city life are the libraries and reading-rooms which throw wide open the doors of learning to all who are eager to extend their knowledge in any direction.

6. Of theaters it is difficult to write in church circles without misunderstandings, and the case cannot be argued in a brief paragraph. This, however, may be suggested as honest, fair, and hopeful of good results: the class should frame

its judgment of actors and plays at first hand and on the basis of ascertained facts, just as they do in relation to works of fiction. The church cannot afford to calumniate an entire profession which contains so many worthy artists, on the ground that many of its members are immoral and even most of the plays presented are poor or vicious. Judgments should be formed and expressed only upon the basis of ascertained facts.

The only way to truth on this subject is long and difficult, as is all literary and aesthetic criticism. Why should there not be in each city a group of men and women of literary training and high moral standards to secure and publish materials for a censorship of the theatrical exhibitions offered? The facts could be collected by such a group from the librettos of operas and plays, from the descriptions furnished by competent newspaper critics of the highest class, and by visits made by mature persons whose minds are not full of prejudices. In every city there are journalists familiar with actors and playwrights who would welcome the co-operation of a really capable and representative association of fair and high-minded citizens. The influence of discriminating citizens would be very great. With only a slight effort in this direction some of the gross immorality of theaters has already been abolished.

UNIVERSITY OF

The palpably obscene and vicious can be suppressed by ordinary police action.

7. Among the most potent educational agencies in cities are the churches and their Sunday schools, to which a special chapter is devoted.

The student is urged to write out from reports the essential facts about the educational agencies of the city or town in which he dwells: especially the number of schools, pupils, teachers in all grades, the value of property; the duties and powers of the school board and of the administrative officers. This preliminary study may be enlarged with further discussion and thought about special points.

III. METHODS OF IMPROVEMENT OF THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

1. The first condition of improving the working of our public schools is to learn what they are already doing and what they fail to achieve; and this knowledge must be as accurate as possible.[3]

We may here select a few questions by way of illustration.

[3] For details the class may well study *School Reports* and *School Efficiency*, by D. S. Snedden and W. H. Allen, published by Macmillan, 1898, especially the questions on pp. 118–27. It would be good training for members of the class to take the reports of the superintendent of schools in the city where the class meets and try to answer as many of the questions of this book as possible, and then inquire of the superintendent why he did not give information on the other points.

a) Attendance: We wish to know how far the schools, public and parochial, actually have the children and youth under their instruction. Therefore we seek in the reports of the boards of education answers to such questions as these: How many children are there in the town of school age (seven to fifteen), and how many are in the compulsory-attendance group? Of these how many actually attend school, in what grades and how many days in the year? What are the causes of failure to be present, as illness, slow development, defects of senses, adenoid growths? How many truant officers are there? How many cases have they investigated? How many have been restored to school by them?

b) We wish to know about the ***health*** of the pupils, and we inquire: How many medical inspectors and nurses are employed to examine children and see that they and their parents are doing what is necessary to care for their physical soundness? Are the children weighed and measured, so as to observe the effect of school life on growth? How many children are kept out of school on account of sickness? Could some of these be taught in special classes and ought some to be sent to special institutions, as for the feeble-minded or epileptic? Are there facilities for play and are there competent play teachers?

How many enjoy these facilities and how many are deprived of them? What are the results of exercise and recreation, as shown in the physical records of the children?

c) We wish further to know about the success of the pupils in their studies, and this interest constrains us to seek in school reports for answers to such questions as these: How many children are in each grade, by age and sex? How many youths are in high schools and in night schools? What is the influence of manual training on the attendance of boys in high school after the compulsory age? What is the effect, as shown in records, of irregular attendance or low scholarship on continuance in school? What evidence is there that school training has prepared children for industrial efficiency? Is the high school merely a preparatory department for colleges and universities—for a few—or is it honestly trying to educate youth for life? Does the high school merely weed out and expel boys who dislike Latin and French, or does it patiently teach them, carrying them along at a pace suited to the average mind, not compelling them to try to run with the swift? Is the high school aristocratic or democratic?

d) We need to know as much as possible about the influence of the school on morality, on char-

acter, and we can get some indications if we study the records of deportment, regularity, and punctuality of attendance, the methods of discipline and the number of punishments and suspensions.

e) As tax-payers we naturally desire to know whether our money is expended with economy and efficiency and whether it goes without peculation or waste to the right place. Therefore we have a right to seek in the published reports of our boards of education light on such questions as these: What school buildings and grounds are owned by the city? What is their value? What is their condition? What is the number of rooms or sittings provided? What provisions are under way for congested districts? Which buildings are without kindergartens and kitchens, workshops for older pupils? What is the relation of the accommodations provided by the buildings of various districts to the number of children of school age in the district, or to the number of children applying for admission? What is the number of vacant sittings, and to what ages of children do they correspond? What has been the annual cost for a series of years of the school system as a whole? What has been the total amount expended for such items as salaries, administration, fuel, building, repairs? What has each

school, and each special kind or grade of school cost, in totals and per pupil? What is the cost of fuel per pupil each year, and why does one school pay more for fuel than another? Is the waste due to carelessness, theft, or defective heating apparatus? What does medical inspection cost per pupil per year?

Many other questions need to be asked, and only when they are clearly answered can the supporters of the school system really know how to praise or blame or criticize the institution to which a vast sum is contributed out of public taxation. To this kind of information the voters have a right; and they cannot go on paying taxes with genuine zeal and patriotism without having such information. Vague appeals to sentiments of patriotism and eloquent declamation about "our glorious school system" can never sustain the burden of expense, so long as we remain ignorant of the actual work done, the results achieved, and the cost of each particular form of service rendered.

It is unfortunately true that our schools suffer from lack of public support; that teachers' salaries are shamefully low; that in many districts there are not enough accommodations for seating many children of compulsory school age; that playgrounds are often lacking; that kindergartens and

industrial departments are not supplied. But all these evils will be most swiftly and completely corrected by a clear, full, and readable description of the exact resources and results of the system. The public must be taken into the confidence of the administrators; all the newspapers must be furnished with a steady stream of reliable facts. The public should be constantly provoked and incited to ask questions. Under our democratic form of government this kind of scientific publicity is essential to sustained popular interest in the schools and adequate support.

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E. P. Dutton, *Social Phases of Education.*
J. Dewey, *The School and Society.*

2. *Co-operation of teachers with parents.*—In connection with each public school there should be an association of parents and teachers at whose meetings at least the more enlightened fathers and mothers would confer with those who are aiding them in their parental duty of developing the powers and character of the children. At such meetings topics of common interest could be treated by specialists with an opportunity for free discussion. Teachers could tell their aims, their difficulties, and their hopes, while parents could ask questions and offer information and sug-

gestions. If there is need of playgrounds, gardens, equipment for domestic arts and trade training there would be a considerable number of voters ready to co-operate in securing the means for extending and adopting the facilities of the school.

3. *Citizens' clubs and their discussions.*—In most cities there are clubs of men and of women for social and civic purposes. It is desirable that each one of these have a standing committee whose duty it will be to study the requirements of the public schools and report to the whole membership. By a standing committee on education composed of delegates from all the clubs a policy could be defined and persistently worked out with the aid of thousands of citizens in many callings.

In such a central and federated committee it would be just and wise to have representatives of the trade unions, because these men would know most of the probable effect of any measure on their facilities and their material interests. The persistent and general tendency to ignore all associations of wage-earners is an insult which is deeply and justly felt; in a democratic country it is folly.

4. *Settlements.*—The social settlements, so far as they are directed by educated and capable residents, deserve the sympathy, co-operation, and

assistance of the churches. They have often succeeded when it has been found impossible to continue what is called "missions." They have become, in many urban districts, the chief meeting-place of persons of all social classes and interests who desire to provide means of culture for working people, and to promote their material interests as well. Many conservative persons stand aloof from them or regard them with suspicion because they manifest an appreciation for trade-unions and socialists, because they do not conduct revivals and Sunday schools, because they do not attempt to make proselytes to Protestant churches, because the residents often become quite radical themselves, and because free discussion is tolerated and encouraged. Thorough acquaintance with the surroundings of the settlements in the crowded quarters of immigrant populations would at least teach critics patience and kindly understanding of the residents. It is very easy, cheap, and unprofitable to find fault; it is much more difficult and more useful to do constructive and educative work. Before condemning the settlements let the class of men try to do some of this work themselves.

5. *Better systems of taxation to supply funds.* —The Federation of Teachers in Chicago set out to improve the schools and secure decent salaries;

they confronted an empty treasury; they made an investigation and found millionaires perjuring themselves to escape just assessments, corporations enjoying valuable franchise privileges without paying for them—public officers diverting funds to improper uses. They went to the legislature, the courts, and the council, and secured redress and improvement, and incidentally made bitter enemies of powerful men who ought from the first to have worked with them without compulsion from the courts. It is an illustration of the obstacles encountered by the friends of education. In the chapter on "Taxation" these matters are discussed. There is plenty of money in this country for better schools than we now have, if we are properly taxed and our funds are honestly administered.

IV. SOME SPECIFIC IMPROVEMENTS

There is space in this chapter only for a few examples of recent improvements and experiments in the direction of fulfilling the social purpose of the public schools.

A lad of sixteen years was asked by an investigating committee what he had learned in the schools which helped him earn a living, and his answer cuts to the quick: "Nothing; because I earn my living with my hands." The schools had

never educated his hands; they did not offer manual training. Untrained hands are held out to beg or become nimble in petty theft.

Many careful observers have sought the causes of failures of our public schools and have tried experiments. After a long struggle with tradition and prejudice the kindergarten has vindicated its right to existence and support; the sloyd and manual-training schools have attracted attention and are rapidly being established in urban systems. To reform deformed boys the correctional schools always employ these methods; but it is more economical and effective to shape the habits aright before vicious paths are entered. On the flinty surface of narrow lots in New York City little gardens have been cultivated and with them a finer life has been evoked in the children of tenements.

The vacation school is a recent invention of friends of children who could not endure to see the poor creatures driven about aimlessly, falling into danger and mischief during the long summer weeks when the school buildings are closed. It is found that for every vacant place there are many applicants, for the children enjoy activity; they are glad to escape from their dingy, close dwellings and from the dirt and danger, the stifling heat of the streets, to play and sing and work

with tools under genial teachers. All the better if the benign influences of Bible stories, hymns and reverent prayer can be mingled with play and tool practice, and long walks in parks and romps in shady places. Here is large opportunity for co-operation of classes of men with the school authorities and special associations of philanthropic persons.

The educational significance of play has been studied more in recent years than formerly. The outdoor playground calls for a special training of teachers to direct the sports and amusements of the young and to prevent bullying by big boys. A national association, with an organ, has undertaken to champion the cause; cities are vying with each other in the purchase of small parks, the provision of gymnastic apparatus, the maintenance of trained instructors. From play to work is only a step, because the plays of children are largely imitation of the serious tasks of adults.

The indoor amusements of children and youth are educative, sometimes for good, sometimes for evil. Repression is impossible. In all cities cheap popular amusements have had an astounding growth. In New York City the nickleodeon alone entertains nearly one hundred thousand children daily. Millions of dollars are being invested in dance-halls, skating-rinks, melodrama, vaudeville,

burlesque, moving-picture variety shows, penny arcades, anatomical museums, beauty shows, and perhaps others, to all of which fine people are supposed to be strangers. Philanthropic persons have sought legislation to prevent abuses; have asked for higher license fees and direct control by police; proper ventilation and arrangements to prevent fire; exclusion of school children from nickleodeons during school hours and after eight o'clock at night, except when accompanied by guardians. But these are merely negative measures. We should positively organize agencies for providing sane, wholesome, and elevating amusements at prices within the reach of families of small means. These amusements may be made vehicles for cheerful humor, enjoyment of art and travel, music, biography, history, and the wonders of science, and the occasion for kindly meetings of families and neighbors.[4] Finally, all instructed friends of public schools are urging improvement in methods of ethical culture, the development of character as the crown of education. Thus the most competent leaders of the school system have declared:

> We earnestly recommend to boards of education, principals, and teachers the continuous training of pupils

[4] See article by John Collier in *Charities and The Commons*, April 11, 1908, p. 73.

in morals and in business and professional ethics, to the end that the coming generation of men of affairs may have a well-developed abhorrence of unfair dealing and discrimination.[8]

[8] National Education Association platform.

CHAPTER X

DUTIES OF THE CHURCH IN URBAN COMMUNITIES

I. THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH

The characteristic duty of the church is to promote worship, to further religion—with us of course the Christian religion. Religion has several aspects. It is hearing the word of God sent through man to mankind. It is a response in worship to the voices of God. It is also inspiring and directing religious motives to the good of humanity, the outflow of faithful love in varied ministrations, the precise form of ministration being always defined by the need of the people where the church is planted. Hence the particular duties of a Christian congregation in a city must be discovered by a careful, even a scientific, study of the city itself and its problems.

II. AGENCIES OF THE CHURCH

The Christian church is responsible for its vast and growing resources. It has the local congregations of all denominations with their real estate, regular incomes, meeting-houses, halls, members with varied talents and social influence. The churches have created and now support various societies, with their equipment: The Young Men's

Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, and others. The churches have built up parochial schools, academies, colleges, universities, and invested in these many millions of money. There are the endowed publication houses and their rich annual income from sales. There are also numerous hospitals, charitable and reformatory associations, and educational agencies directly or indirectly under church control or influence.

III. PRINCIPLES GOVERNING THE EMPLOYMENT OF THESE AGENCIES IN URBAN COMMUNITIES

In our theological schools the arts of preaching, pastoral service, church administration, religious teaching and missionary labor are taught; and the teaching has been embodied systematically in a large number of books. It is not to be expected that we should attempt to repeat this instruction here. We shall seek only to bring to consciousness certain factors which are too much overlooked and neglected by church workers in cities.

1. Of the moral necessity of "making disciples" of men of all nations there is in theory no doubt. All Christian churches admit the duty, and a Christian man who can remain quite easy in mind without at least doing a little to proclaim

the gospel throughout the city is a rarity, let us hope. The command of the Lord is plain; the need of the people is apparent; all the value we set on our religion makes it imperative to share our best treasures with our less-favored neighbors. Few of us have quite forgotten that we are saved by Him who seeks the lost.

2. We must pass with bare mention the traditional and ordinary *methods* of evangelization: the family life, the Sunday school, the church services. We are acquainted, at least in well-to-do neighborhoods, with the "attractive" methods of securing attendance, the eloquent preacher, the popular music, the lighted audience room, the genial welcome. Then, when we discover that many refuse to be attracted, we go out aggressively to "compel them to come in." Street preaching is practiced, at least by the Salvation Army and by some regular ministers whose zeal burns hotly. Here and there we invade a theater or popular concert hall and touch a new audience.

Recently the Young Men's Christian Association has secured a brief hearing for a kind and genial message at the noon hour in shops. Multitudes hear the gospel; alas! multitudes are indifferent. The statistics of Protestant work in our larger cities are depressing.

IV. MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH TO THE GENERAL WELFARE OF URBAN POPULATIONS

We have already indicated the service of the church in respect to the highest, noblest, most enduring element of welfare—the life of worship. Whatever the church does or leaves undone it must help men to love God.

But is preaching the only way to persuade mankind to love God? How do we teach our own children to love us? Merely by catechisms on filial duties? Chiefly rather by caresses, by food, by comfort, by all sorts of deeds and sacrifices through the years. God never breaks the silence with mere words; he speaks in perpetual gifts of fruitful earth and kind human nature. He gave his Son, and only after Calvary was the gospel reduced to a written word. The church must learn the divine way to men's hearts, and must show its faith by its works of love; and so in all its best ages it has done; only now the task is more difficult.

1. *The settlement method.*—The common ground of friendship and sociability is first of all to know our neighbors in cities. We must have at least some representatives of the churches who live in daily, friendly, sympathetic contact with the people. The Protestant churches are very generally a long distance from the colonies and

districts of immigrants and laborers, and therefore our pastors, teachers, and members have a very dim notion of the hopes, fears, anxieties, ambitions, tastes, beliefs, sufferings, prejudices, sacrifices, and character of the multitudes who come from other lands, bringing their customs and faiths with them. Stupid blunders are committed by kind people because they wound feelings of persons whose springs of conduct are different from their own.[1]

The tendency of immigrants to gather and remain in cities, especially cities of the northern states, creates a situation which makes church work extremely difficult and also exceedingly important. Something can be learned from books and magazine articles, but more from residence near the people to be helped.

Any family can establish a settlement. Whether it is wise to take young children into a doubtful neighborhood each man must judge for himself. Many a district of poor people is quite as virtuous as a boulevard, if not so fine. But a young physician, lawyer, skilled artisan, teacher, business man, can make his residence for a few years in a neighborhood of wage earners and make friends

[1] *The Church and the Immigrant in Cities;* Howard B. Grose, *Aliens or Americans?;* John R. Commons, *Races and Immigrants in America.*

among them. If he is democratic and tactful he may acquire political influence among them and help them secure more efficient administration of city government.

Cities must have an agency to mediate between the immigrants and the religious, educational, and political institutions already established. A Protestant church in a colony of Catholics or Jews is hated; a "mission" is despised; the form of service is repulsive; the crude music of the Salvation Army jars on the nerves of the Italians. With the kindest intentions our church methods often collide with the feelings of people we would win, because we do not know them. They do not understand us nor our language; our creed is heresy to them; all attempts to proselyte are regarded as devilish enticements to disloyalty to ancestral faith.

Between hostile camps we need a common ground for meeting under a white flag of truce. The public school is one such place, for there partisanship in politics and creed is forbidden. But the public school has its limitations. The social settlement in American cities is intended to do what "missions" cannot do. To offer a foreign colony a mission is to brand them aliens and godless, as well as inferior. This is resented; for the immigrant becomes democratic, equal of

all, when his toes touch Ellis Island. The settlement has an open door and permits free discussion which few churches can tolerate. If a workingman cannot express his own ideas on an equality with others he turns his back on the place in contempt, and warns his comrades to keep away. Many of the dingy halls, where services are conducted by ill-trained leaders, are felt to be an insult. The settlement has very often broad-minded, educated residents who are genial and patient with people who differ from them in many ways. He who goes among workingmen to "convert" them to his own economic, political, or theological creed soon finds that his neighbors prefer to convert him; at least they will not give him more than half the time. A dogmatist or revivalist of a common type does more harm than good, and in all our cities the churches and missions have steadily retreated before the immigrant flood. The settlements are sometimes overrated; they are few and feeble in resources; but they have a use and perform an indispensable service as interpreters of citizens to each other.

In a great city an economic or political revolution may ripen before college professors or preachers even know of its beginnings. The settlement residents of the best kind act as outposts and observers and warn us of the danger of

our neglect. In our comfortable homes and luxurious churches, especially when we dodge taxes and duties in suburban residences, we know the Bohemian, Lithuanian, and Polish laborers no better than if they were still over sea. We need settlements to discover the facts and illumine our ignorance and correct our provincial conceit and Phariseeism.

Many earnest Christians will have nothing to do with settlements, count it a sin to give them money, because they do not hold revival meetings or Sunday schools. This is unreasonable; for the same persons pay for the support of public schools, parks, art galleries, and other public means of good with which prayer-meetings are not connected. Has anyone heard of an evangelical deacon or minister who refused a 10 per cent. dividend in a bank or gas company because the directors did not say grace before they voted payments on shares? Let us be consistent. Some of the most vital and important methods of church work have been suggested by experience in settlements.

2. *Philanthropic activities.*—The social service of members of the church will ordinarily be applied most economically and fruitfully through other organizations. It is unwise for each church to establish and maintain its own institutions,

hospitals, child-saving societies, newsboys' homes, day nurseries, custodial asylums for the feeble-minded, playgrounds, free baths, schools, wage-earners' societies, insurance companies, political reform societies, and scores of others.

There are cases, of course, where an individual church may have the wealth and power to erect an institution of some importance, and it may be duty to take advantage of the opportunity. But all the really great social work can be done only by co-operation of all well-disposed people in the city. But will not the church fail to get credit for its charity if it joins forces with citizens in general, many of whom may be heretics and agnostics? This fear is frequently expressed. But is the church so poor in good works that it needs to stand apart from its neighbors? Is the first consideration a reputation? Is not the primary duty to do good in the wisest way and leave to God and man the care of reputation? Is the principle of Jesus not applicable to churches as to individual Christians that one must lay down his life, even bury it as good seed is covered, in order that life may be abundant? That church which manifests all the traits of a frank, vigorous, sensible, and co-operative neighbor will have all the credit it deserves for its generous deeds, while if it shrivels into a petty representative of

schism and sect it loses touch with all the large-minded men who are trying to establish philanthropic enterprises on modern scientific foundations and on a scale worthy of the city and adequate to its demands. In division and selfishness there is weakness; in union there is strength.

A few examples will illustrate the meaning, and they will be given in connection with an analysis of the philanthropic, educational, reformatory and political movements which call for a vast number of zealous, able, and persistent workers.

Familiar acquaintance with the people of a city will reveal more or less distinct groups or strata, each with its own problems and requirements, each calling for a different and suitable kind of social service.

The depressed.—Under this designation we include for the present discussion: (1) Dependents; (2) defectives; (3) abnormals; (4) the anti-social, vicious and criminal.[2] The work of the church to the members of these groups has of late years been called the "Inner Mission." This field is so wide, its problems so complex, and the co-operation of the commonwealth outside of cities so necessary that it is given a special chapter in this series. At this point we may ask considera-

[2] See *Introduction to the Study of the Dependent, Defective, and Delinquent Classes*, by C. R. Henderson.

tion for certain principles which should govern the relation of the church to charities and corrections.

The church should regard all its charity as only a part of the philanthropic system of the city and of the commonwealth. If it gives relief to needy families in their homes it should be in full knowledge of what is done by other agencies for the same families. Every church should have a representative in the district committee of the charity organization society, by whatever name that organization may be locally known. Generally the members of a church can do more effective service by co-operating with some existing charitable society, and carrying into it the fervor and zeal of religion, than by adding another feeble agency to the multitude already existing.

The organization of municipal charities is not a function of a church, and it must be under the guidance of experts. No doubt a group of young Christians or of benevolent women may accept from a charity organization society a specific task to be carried out in harmony with what other groups are doing, under the trained directors; but it is wasteful and selfish to work without regard to the general plan, ignore others, and almost certainly interfere with wise and comprehensive plans.

For defectives—the blind, the deaf, the crippled —the churches, as such, have no proper facilities for education; but they ought not to neglect and forget the municipal and state schools which train such children. In cases of destitution churches may well supplement the public schools by gifts and by personal friendly attentions. At present comparatively little is done for crippled children, and yet there are many of them, and their need of protection is often very great.[8]

The abnormals (feeble-minded, idiotic, imbecile, insane, epileptic) are a state charge and require public care and custody. The church has no call in this country to erect and maintain hospitals and colonies for their proper treatment; but here again representatives of the church should visit the state institutions, study their methods and results, help to prevent abuses and aid the authorities in securing grants of legislaures for needed improvements.

The anti-social—vicious and criminal—must be watched and disciplined chiefly by the state, by counties, and by cities. Churches can help members of these classes best through "Howard Associations," refuges for erring girls, prisoners' aid societies, etc.

[8] Write to editor of *Children's Charities*, 79 Dearborn St., Chicago, for information about an institution for crippled children.

3. *Co-operation with wage earners.*—The second great group is composed of wage earners and their families. They only occasionally need charitable relief, when individuals drop down out of the wage earners' group into the group of the depressed. It is a fatal mistake of many well-meaning church leaders to offer charity to members of this group. The offer is felt as an insult. The demand of industrial men is for justice, a fair chance, not for philanthropy and patronage. The elements of a social policy affecting the interests of this group, especially in cities, have been discussed elsewhere.[4]

4. *Attitude of the church to the rich.*—There is another group which requires quite as serious study and earnest effort of the church—the business class, the captains of industry, and the leisure class, which seems to be emerging from the busy group. Indeed there are very marked evidences that a considerable number of Americans are killing themselves by excessive devotion to business in order that their children may vegetate in the next generation as parasites on the industrious. This is not true of all rich people; but it is already a notorious evil and is rapidly increasing.

5. *Education.*—The opportunity of the church in relation to education is indicated in another

[4] See chap. v, "Social Duties to Workingmen."

place. It is vastly better for the church to help create intelligent interest in the public schools than to duplicate the buildings and grounds and maintain parochial schools, leaving the public schools to suffer by neglect or even by enmity.

6. *Political life* in cities sadly needs the aid of the church; but not by alliance with parties. This is discussed in other places.

"And I saw the holy city. . . . . And I saw no temple therein" (Rev. 21:2, 22). The most sacred city needs no sun because God is its light, no sanctuary because all is holy. This is the ideal toward which the church in a city works, the sanctification of streets, alleys, shops, parks, recreations, government, business.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

Learn the number of persons and families of various races and nations in the city, or in the county. Discover to what religious denomination they belong and how many have abandoned all churches. Make a map of the district showing the distribution of foreigners, the location of their churches and parochial schools. Learn something of the country of their origin; its laws, customs, faiths.

Learn about the industries, dwellings, education, political activities of the foreigners of the district. What is their attitude to the saloon? What good qualities do they manifest?

Inquire at the post-office how much money they send

each year to their relatives abroad, and for what purposes.

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CHAPTER XI

SOCIAL DUTIES OF URBAN LIFE: MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

In order to know our duties in relation to municipal government we must first learn what that government actually does; for the conditions define duties, when taken in connection with the essential values of human life. The determination of the duty of a city government is the result of a most complicated calculation of probabilities, reasoning from past experience and from the consequences of experiments in all the cities of the world. There is no short cut and easy path to a judgment. A wise and valuable decision must rest on a consideration of all the needs of the people, physical, economic, and spiritual; on a consideration of all the possible means and methods of supplying these needs—individual effort, voluntary association, private corporations, municipal management and administration.

I. RELATION OF MUNICIPAL TO STATE GOVERNMENT

1. The modern city derives all its powers from the state, these powers are defined and limited in an instrument vested by the state legislature and called a "charter." The activities

which a municipal administration may legally conduct are carefully enumerated in this document, and beyond this particular list of activities the council and mayor cannot pass. This is the general tendency in this country; in some European countries cities can undertake almost any local enterprises which do not clash with state laws or agencies of administration. It is now generally believed by competent authorities that cities should have a larger measure of liberty and "home rule," so far as purely local interests are involved.

2. The city government is an agency of the state government for certain general purposes, such as the maintenance of order and security, the care of public health, and public education. Laws regulating the liquor traffic, gambling, vice, and crime, are made by the state legislature, and officers of a city are bound by their oath of office to enforce these laws, whether they approve them or not. Even if state laws are locally unpopular the city officials perjure themselves when they neglect any practicable means of making them effective.

Because of this close dependence of municipal upon state government the city administration must, at least in certain fields, be carefully supervised and controlled by the higher authorities,

yet not in such a way as to cripple, impede, and corrupt local enterprise.

II. THE BUSINESS OF A CITY GOVERNMENT

1. First and before all else, a municipality must preserve order and protect life, person, and property. Without a sense of security industry is paralyzed, wages cease, capital hides, enterprise is checked, progress is stayed. The power of a city government to maintain order is severely tested in the case of a strike attended by violence, especially when a large part of the public is in sympathy with the strikers in their effort to better conditions. Another crisis comes when a negro attacks a white woman, as in Springfield, Illinois, in 1908, and public indignation breaks down the barriers of legal authority and demands instant vengeance. Strongly as we detest the brutal assault we must submit our cause to the courts of justice rather than to the blind fury of a mob. If courts are dilatory we must correct their procedure, not set them aside and return to social chaos and barbarism. Lawlessness breeds lawlessness.

2. Municipal administration must care for the conditions of physical health. The general laws which are sufficient to protect health in the open country, with houses far apart, are utterly inade-

quate in crowded towns and large cities. The individual citizen cannot protect himself under urban conditions; he is compelled to rely on municipal officials to provide sewage, drainage, pure drinking-water, means of detecting and preventing the sale of impure milk, spoiled meat, and vegetables, and the placing of decaying matter where it will poison the air. These are interests which cannot be left to individuals and corporations and to the motive of private profit.

The commissioner of health of Chicago, Dr. W. A. Evans, publishes a bulletin for all citizens, on which he prints the saying of an eminent legislator: "Sanitary instruction is even more important than sanitary legislation." When we see how many lives are filled with pain, how many children and useful adults die every year because of ignorance of hygiene, we can understand how a health officer must secure the co-operation of citizens, not only by giving orders and making arrests, but also by opening the eyes of the people to their perils and their duties.

Parks, playgrounds, and public baths are established and administered by city governments or local boards. They are not only necessary for promoting the physical well-being of the inhabitants, but they are also desirable as means of refinement of taste, as resorts for sociability and

as substitutes for drinking-halls. It is now known that energetic play in the open air, when under the direction of properly trained teachers and freed from positive temptation of perverted persons, is one of the most valuable means of preventing the sexual degradation of boys and girls. But young persons cannot safely be permitted to run wild in public parks; they must be under the vigilant eye of proper guardians and directors.

3. It is now generally admitted that city governments must be charged with the duty, under state laws, of establishing and maintaining free public schools and other agencies of education and culture. It is easily possible for cities to provide a more complete system of schools than the rural districts can yet supply, because taxable wealth and population are more concentrated in a relatively crowded area. Urban populations also require much more varied forms of instruction than is necessary in the country. Therefore cities are permitted by law to extend and maintain their own schools, since they not only meet but surpass the average requirement for the state at large.

Under our constitution, institutions, and political beliefs, municipalities have no direct task to perform in connection with religion and churches, except to afford the protection to which all legiti-

mate associations are entitled and to extend such exemption from taxation as is due to agencies which work self-sacrificingly for the common welfare without hope of pecuniary profit.

4. Whether city governments should undertake any business enterprise which private corporations are prepared to carry on is a separate problem which must not be hastily passed over. It seems to be the final verdict of experience that the enterprise of supplying water to the public is so closely connected with control of the conditions of public health that it cannot safely be entrusted to corporations whose end is profit. The argument is not so clear and opinions are not so united when we come to such public services as lighting, transportation and telephones.

III. THE ORGANIZATION OF CITY GOVERNMENT

In order to transact the business of an urban community a municipal government must have a legal organization in which each citizen and official is responsible for a defined duty and is authorized to act in a certain way. This organization is fixed by the terms of the state-granted charter.

1. There is the electorate, the body of voters who have the legal right to elect their officers and so control the administration.

2. The council has not only limited legislative powers but considerable work in actual administration. The legislative work is done by passing general ordinances controlling the conduct of citizens in many ways; and the administrative activity of the council is through committees charged with specific tasks, with the obligation to report to the council, unless given power to act.

3. The executive and administrative work of a municipality is carried on by the mayor, council committees, and by officials and departments.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

a) *The mayor.*[1]—The powers of the mayor differ in various cities according to their charters. The tendency in this country is to increase the authority of the mayor, give him the power of appointment and discharge, make him independent of the council and make him responsible for the success or faults of departments.

It would be well for the class to appoint a member to bring in an abstract of the chapter of Goodnow's *City Government in the United States,* on the "City Executive" (chap. viii). With his argument before it, the class might weigh the arguments for and against: (1) long and short terms of the mayor's tenure of office; (2) the British system of securing amenability to public opinion, with efficiency by means of unpaid council com-

[1] F. J. Goodnow, *City Government in the United States,* pp. 176 ff.; J. A. Fairlie, *Municipal Administration.*

mittees having as agents professional and salaried experts for details of administration; (3) separation of local from national politics; (4) the merit system of appointment and retention of salaried officers in subordinate positions; (5) organization of boards rather than one-man power by heads of departments; (6) administration of public schools by a board having under it a professional expert as superintendent, the board fixing general policies and the superintendent being responsible for carrying them out.

It would also be profitable to discuss the suggestion that a large city should be divided into districts, each with a neighborhood center, with its offices for courts, elections, police, fire department, and dignified buildings near school and recreation grounds. A special study of the government of Paris would be useful.

b) *Police department.*[2]—It is the duty of this department to maintain order, carry state laws into execution, enforce municipal ordinances, cooperate with the health authorities, and perform various tasks assigned them by the municipal government.

c) *School department*[3] *and other agencies of culture and recreation.*—This department is sometimes almost independent in its administration. Its members may be appointed by the mayor or elected by popular vote. Its duty is to maintain and improve the system of common

[2] Goodnow, *op. cit.*, pp. 204 ff.

[3] Goodnow, *op. cit.*, pp. 262 ff.

schools and adapt them to the needs of the people. The direct administration is usually intrusted to a professional educator, the superintendent of schools.

d) *Physical conditions and public works.*[4]—These include the fire department, the health department, streets and bridges, means of transportation and communication, lighting, sewers and drains.

e) *Care of dependents and delinquents.*[5]—In some cities the municipal government does not offer relief to needy families in their homes, but confines its charity to giving relief in institutions. In Chicago the benevolent operations of the people are administered by the county and not by the city authorities.

The control and correction of law-breakers must be in the hands of public officials; although in case of reformatory schools for youth the municipality may subsidize private institutions.

f) *City finances.*[6]—Elsewhere we have considered the principles of revenue from taxation. Modern municipalities with numerous departments have frequently permitted their accounts

[4] Goodnow, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

[5] Goodnow, *op. cit.*, pp. 248 ff.

[6] Goodnow, *op. cit.*, p. 286; W. H. Allen, *Efficient Democracy.*

to become so confused that dishonest men easily plunder the treasury without much danger of detection, and the taxpayers are unable to learn what each form of service costs them and what they receive in return for their expenditures. One of the important reforms most urgent now is that of introducing a system of records and reports which will enable business men to see clearly the working, efficiency, and cost of every department, and know just what person should be praised or punished.

IV. PUBLIC CONTROL OF CITY GOVERNMENT

1. *The nature and necessity of public control.* —City government is created and supported by the people, at immense cost, to administer certain kinds of affairs, to render definite services. Too often the men elected or appointed, as soon as they are in office, resent any inquiry from citizens about their conduct, and even conspire to keep information from the electorate.

It must be evident that it is the right and the duty of the people to know what their servants are doing with their money and with the power intrusted to them. It is one of the plainest lessons of history that men are inclined to abuse power unless they are held to strict account. The best public men are glad to have their adminis-

tration thoroughly scrutinized. It is also manifest that each individual citizen cannot for himself discover the facts about the administration of many municipal offices. It would introduce endless confusion and obstruct public business if every man could at any moment insist upon examining the books of the various departments to see what was done with his money paid as taxes. Few citizens have the skill in accounts which would make their investigations of any value to themselves or to others. Hence there is need of some recognized legitimate and yet independent method of maintaining public control over city officers.

2. *Method of public examiners.*—Provision is made for auditing the accounts of officials who have charge of public funds; and much depends on the fidelity, honesty, ability, and training of such public examiners and auditors.

3. *Method of voluntary associations of citizens.*—Outside of the officers themselves there is needed an alert society of citizens whose constant business it shall be: (*a*) to provide expert accountants who shall make themselves familiar with the methods of keeping municipal records and accounts; (*b*) who will make suggestions to the officers of the city in respect to correction of abuses and improvements in administration; and

(*c*) who will, when amendment is refused or persistently neglected, expose the defects, neglect, or fraud to the electorate through the press, after giving the delinquent officers a fair opportunity to mend their ways. In case of palpably criminal conduct the prosecuting authorities are to be informed. The Bureau of Municipal Research, of New York, already mentioned, is the best type of such a society.

But municipal administration requires for its best service that the electorate itself should be intelligent and alert in respect to the *policy* which the government should pursue and the *results* which are expected. No amount of examination of accounts will take the place of an enlightened public demand for broadening the activities of the administration. The people cannot attend to details, but they can understand whether their government is increasing their well-being and diminishing their loss and suffering. For example, the people of Chicago were capable of judging of the necessity for a drainage canal, and they could appreciate the fact that after its completion typhoid fever almost disappeared. Efficiency and economy in building public works, in conducting hospitals and schools, can be tested by records and reports.

4. *Civil-service reform; the merit system.*— It is evident to any competent person who will study the facts that the only qualifications for a position in public service are mental, physical, and moral fitness for it, and faithful and efficient labor in it. It is just as evident that any man who has taken time to learn his professional duties should be secure in his position, as he is in private business, so long as he renders satisfactory service; that he should not be discharged arbitrarily nor because of his political or ecclesiastical creed.

Up to this time our cities have been saddled with the "spoils system," thus designated because it was believed by politicians that when a party was victorious the city offices belonged as spoils of war to the victors. Under this iniquitous system men are appointed to positions by the favor of "bosses," not by their own personal merit and fitness. Mr. Cleveland taught a great truth in his happy phrase "a public office is a public trust." The very word "office" implies a social duty.

The right test for appointing or retaining a city official is his usefulness to the public, not to a ring of partisan managers. During the past quarter of a century the federal and local govern-

ments, with steady opposition, secret and open, from many politicians, have been urged by enlightened patriots to place all administrative offices under the "merit system;"that is to make appointments to such places from candidates who have proved that they are capable of performing the duties of the offices. In this reform movement reliance has been placed largely on "civil-service examinations," the candidates being tested by the requirement to answer certain questions relating to matters which the candidate ought to know. Other tests must be added to this academic examination, in order to prove the skill and training of the candidate as well as his knowledge of facts and ability to express his ideas in written form. Thus a mechanic should prove by testimony that he has served an apprenticeship, and acquired skill; an engineer or physician or nurse should show a diploma or certificate of successful service in a similar position to the one for which the person is candidate.

In cities like those of England, where the spoils system is not very strongly intrenched, the city boards have considerable freedom and discretion in appointing and discharging; but a good officer need not fear discharge on account of his political views.

V. INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN CITY GOVERNMENT

The political parties are organized and maintained to make effective certain principles and policies of national government, as tariff methods, interstate commerce regulations, foreign relations, the army and navy. The issues are very different from those affecting local administration, such as sewers, parks, schools, public utilities, and similar matters. Therefore it would seem that men may properly vote for president and members of Congress on the party ticket and for candidates of different parties or no party for members of the city council and mayors. Practically it is very difficult to make this separation. But at least the candidates for municipal offices may be required by associations of voters to pledge themselves to definite lines of policy touching local interests, no matter what their attitude may be to the issues of national parties.

VI. THE INFLUENCE OF CITY GOVERNMENT ON MORALITY AND CHARACTER

The ultimate purpose of the Christian church is to promote righteousness, the will of a good and holy God in the nature and life of men. This purpose it pursues at immense expenditure of money, time, toil, and sacrifice. Although there

is much that can be said, with only too great a degree of truth, of the indifference, mistakes, and waste of Christian effort, no fair-minded and intelligent man can deny that the church has steadily, and with increasing effect, labored toward this high end.

But the redeeming influence of the church and its ministry is thwarted at every step by maladministration and corruption in city politics and government. Often the men elected or appointed to repress vice and crime form alliances with depraved and unscrupulous offenders and line their own pockets with the spoils of shameful compromises.

The example of dishonest council members growing rich by bargains with corrupt corporations or by partnerships with saloons, brothels, and gambling dens, instigates youth to follow these illustrious models. "Success" too often means the winning of wealth without regard to the means of acquisition, and it fires the imagination of the morally immature and debases them. While faithful deaconesses, missionaries, Salvationists, and pastors toil through the years to rescue a few of the perishing, an inefficient or dishonest administration will actually make gain out of methods which deprave and ruin multitudes of innocent children and ignorant youth. In the

very nature of the case the church is at unceasing war with a wicked municipal government, and to compromise would mean a base surrender, an inner spiritual defeat.

It is tragic to think of the pulpit and Sunday school saving a few precious souls out of a tenement-house district while an inefficient and unscrupulous city government permits depraved women and men to turn whole blocks of residences of poor families into haunts of low vice and schools of depravity.

VII. THE DUTY OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENS IN RELATION TO MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

Let us carefully discriminate. (*a*) We are not inquiring at this point what is the duty of the church as an association. It may well be that the church has no call to enter into the strife of partisans, to pronounce upon the qualifications of candidates for office, to criticize authoritatively the conduct of officials, to pass resolutions favoring particular policies or measures. The church has no fitness, no organs for such tasks. It is almost certain to blunder if it attempts to go into this field. (*b*) Nor do we here assert that ministers should hold office or conduct movements for amelioration and reform which demand legal knowledge, skill in debate, and information about

officials and their duties. We may be inclined to think them too emotional and inexperienced for such work. We may think of the peril to their reputation and usefulness in being mixed up in the conflicts of litigation. We may have good reason to anticipate neglect of their higher duties. The minister is, we deny not, a citizen and a man before he is a parson, and he cannot be refused the rights of a citizen. There are, perhaps, situations so desperate, when no other can be found brave enough, when a pastor may risk the danger and sacrifice much for a great and imperiled cause. But, generally, better instruments can be found for such reform movements. (*c*) The Church and its ministry can and ought to help create in the minds of citizens such a definite sense of obligation as will secure and support not only leaders of ameliorative effort but a substantial and intelligent support everywhere by men and women. Here we return to the principle advocated throughout this volume, that the church and ministry must provide for education of the moral sense in the actual and concrete problems of life. The church is not the only school of political and administrative morality, but it is one of the most important because it alone can effectively set in motion the forces of religion and it is independent of party and faction. Any minister who

attempts to lead a fight with vice without first securing the co-operation of brave and wise business men will spend his strength in vain. General Grant did not win his great battles by flourishing his sword and shouting on the firing-line, but by animating the whole army with his spirit and working out the idea of the campaign. It is better for a minister to educate and inspire a thousand men and women than to try to do the work of a thousand men and women.

It should not be difficult for the church to set apart, consecrate, dedicate certain of its members to the *Ministry of Political Action*—men of sound sense, energy, public spirit, business and legal training, acquaintance with men and affairs. The church need not be responsible for all their opinions and measures; indeed, men of different parties may be chosen, if they are at once conscientious and careful students.

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F. J. Goodnow, *City Government in the United States.*
D. B. Eaton, *The Government of Municipalities.*
J. A. Fairlie, *Municipal Administration.*
W. H. Allen, *Efficient Democracy.*
J. Strong, *The Challenge of the City.*

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Members of the class may make a large wall chart of the municipal organization of their town or city, the

titles, duties, and salaries of all officers; to whom each one is responsible; how elected or appointed, and for what terms; what reports or records they are legally required to make; what are the means of knowing their efficiency as measured by results.

2. Try to find out in regard to several departments just what they are legally required to do and how far they have done it, what it cost the people, and in what respects they failed. Did the board of health diminish sickness and death? Did the public hospital cure patients, as many as it might, at reasonable cost? Did the school board provide instruction for all children and secure their attendance?

3. Let some members of the class, if they know enough and are brave enough, go to the bottom of these questions: "Who appraises the property of the gas company, the street car company, the electric companies, the railroads, the banks and bankers, the big mercantile houses, for taxation? What assessors, taxing boards, auditors, have such power? Are they growing rich out of these offices? Who helps to get them into office? Who bribes them and how? Who pays the cost of government which great corporations avoid? What are the relations of the "bosses" in politics to the public-service corporations? Who are the local "bosses" in each party, and by what means did they acquire power?

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E. A. Ross, *Sins of Society.*

J. L. Steffens, *Shame of the City.*

CHAPTER XII

CHARITIES AND CORRECTION

In a Christian community familiar with the Bible there is no need to show that kindness to the weak, the unfortunate, and the wicked is a duty. The disposition to help may well be taken for granted. But the wisest methods of helpfulness do not come to us from intuition and amiable impulse; we must learn them from experience, by hard study, and by diligent labor. Many gentle and generous persons ruin the poor and increase crime by ignorant methods.

I. SOCIAL DUTIES IN RELATION TO THE VICIOUS AND CRIMINAL

First of all it is the duty of Christian people to learn what they can of the important facts of dependence, vice, and crime. Some of these facts can be learned from public records. When officials charged with administering relief give aid to needy families in their homes or to helpless persons in hospitals, asylums, and almshouses, a record is usually kept of the persons and what has been done for them, and a report is made to city, state, or national authorities.

Charity, justice and reason require that we should carefully distinguish the various groups of

those who call for charitable or reformatory service. This classification is based on the characteristics and nature of the wards of society, on the causes which produced the unnatural condition, and on the measures required to relieve their distress and control their conduct.

1. *Abnormals.*—It is possible to distinguish a considerable number of persons who have either been born with imperfect nervous structure or through shock, disease, or waste have become so diseased that they cannot act normally and associate safely with ordinary people. Thus we have idiots and imbeciles of all grades, epileptics, and the insane of many types.

Idiots and imbeciles, for the most part, are offspring of parents whose nervous system is imperfectly developed. We have here a case of direct inheritance too plain to mistake. In the plant, in the animal, and in human beings, like produces like. The proof of this law can be made plain to children, best of all by nature-study, by watching the growth and division of cells with a microscope under direction of a scientific teacher, by observation in poultry yards, in flocks and herds, in gardens and cages, in zoölogical museums, and in human families. Not only bones, muscles, nerves, hair, height, color of skin and eyes, but also abnormal conditions are transmitted

from parents to children, and even traits of character and disposition. A smaller number of the feeble-minded have not inherited their defects, but these are due to accidents and disease. The use of alcohol and narcotics in excess, on the part of parents, sometimes is shown in the offspring.

2. *Defectives.*—This word is here used in a specific sense to describe persons more or less dependent on social aid and care on account of some physical handicap not seriously affecting the brain and central nervous system, as the cripples, the blind, and the deaf. Cripples are sometimes born without hands or feet, though otherwise natural and healthy; more frequently their condition is due to accident or disease. A child may be burned, scalded, thrown upon the floor, have its hand or leg crushed or cut; or some disease like tuberculosis may attack the spine or hip and make the person lame and deformed. These are not seriously "abnormal," although they lack some limbs, organ, or members, and thus are in a degree "defective."

3. Under the name *impoverished* we may conveniently group a large number of persons who need charitable relief or support chiefly on account of some social misfortune: as orphans, abandoned and neglected children, families where sickness or misfortune have taken away normal support,

homeless men out of employment, invalids, friendless aged men and women.

The causes of deep poverty are numerous and complicated, many of them reading back to generations long since dead. Thus we may discover infants abandoned by mothers, left upon the doorstep of house or asylum for strangers to care for; or born in a hospital and made motherless by death. Orphans become dependent in consequence of the death of parents. In such cases we impute no fault to the victim of calamity, though disease may sometimes be traced to misconduct in ancestors. From ancient times the widow and the fatherless have been cast by religion and morals on the mercy of the faithful; for it is easily seen that when war, accident, pestilence, or sickness has removed the husband and father, the mother has to bear an extraordinary burden at once to care for and earn a support for the children. Yet when we go back far enough we may occasionally discover that the father brought premature death on himself by some form of misconduct. The object of seeking causes, however, is not to place blame so much as to be able to cut off the supply of evil in future.

Disease is one of the most prolific causes of impoverishment of individuals and families, for sickness not only diminishes or destroys earning

power but frequently undermines even the willingness to put forth effort. Any relief agent can cite numerous instances where a family has been reduced to beggary by the prolonged sickness of a once industrious father. Diseases themselves are effects of causes as numerous as can be imagined, as drunkenness, gluttony, low vice, indolence, use of narcotics and other harmful indulgences; or to malaria, to typhoid germs in water, milk, or vegetables, to venereal diseases, to tuberculosis, to pneumonia. Tuberculosis is one of the principal enfeebling and impoverishing diseases. It is not true nor fair to say that the individual is to blame for his sickness without knowing all his history; for much illness is due to social conditions over which the individual has no control. Think of the risks miners must take in order that the rest of us can have the cheerful light and warmth of coal; every hour they toil in darkness, in damp and poisonous atmosphere, exposed to the falling rocks and the explosion of powder, dynamite, and gas. Think of the perils to life and limb of the railway engineers, firemen, and switchmen, the price they must pay that we may enjoy travel and the transportation of commodities from distant places of production. Think of the illness due to crowded tenements, undrained cellars, hot workshops and a thousand conditions which

the worker cannot change. All of this causes poverty.

Men quite willing to work for their living are often turned into the street by the hundred thousand by employers. It is not true to say that any honest and steady man can secure wages any time he is willing to labor. Every year multitudes are thrown out of occupation unwillingly and in some years some of the most important factories, mills, and mines are closed for a long period. It is useless for those thrown out to seek employment in another branch of industry, even if they had the skill required, because in periods of depression all industries may be closed together. This study of causes ought to be extended in many directions so that we can realize how complicated are the conditions of life in modern cities, learn the lesson of charity, and also consider what large social remedies are demanded.

4. Under the title *vicious* and *delinquent* may be grouped those who manifest an anti-social disposition and who must be held in some kind of restraint in the interest of social order and security. There are many grades and kinds of delinquents, from the mischievous lad who plays truant and steals green apples to the hardened murderer. With youthful offenders we cannot use the epithet "criminal" with any propriety.

Remove the abnormal imbecile to suitable segregated colonies and the young persons left may safely be treated by educational methods. The starting-point of lawless conduct may be in some physical infirmity which unfits a child for school and drives him as a truant in sullen discontent or open rebellion to woods and stream or vicious company. Recently the appointment of trained medical visitors and nurses as examiners of schools has revealed the fact that truancy is frequently the result of physical inability to see or hear clearly or to do the required task; and that when surgical and medical aid has been given, the child succeeds and is happy in school. How often harsh judgments, due to the ignorance of parents and teachers, have turned children into tramps, vagabonds, and delinquents.

When we inquire carefully into the physical conditions under which multitudes of children are brought up in cities the chief wonder is that so few are ruined, that so many live honest and useful lives. It is heartbreaking to look into the crowded quarters in New York, Chicago, and other cities and know that decency and modesty must have deep roots indeed to survive where men, women, children, families, boarders, strangers, live like beasts in cages.

As for the rest the temptations to vice and

crime are on every hand. The desire for food and clothes is a temptation to theft, burglary, fraud, deception, unless the necessities of life can be earned by skill or won by industry. Even among respectable people crime often occurs, not to get food and comforts, but to heap up wealth and make a parade of power and riches. A certain part of legal talent is consecrated to the task of showing strong men how to steal without punishment.

II. SOCIAL DUTIES IN RELATION TO THE DEPRESSED AND DEPRAVED

1. *General maxims.*—Of individual duty we cannot here say much directly; for what any person ought to do will be determined by his wealth, faculties, abilities, experience, training, and opportunity. We have here to do chiefly with social duties, that is, with the methods which communities ought to use in dealing with the pauper, the distressed, the vicious, the delinquent. Within a brief chapter no systematic and complete presentation is possible; we suggest a few vital principles and give references to extended treatises for those who can take time to study the problems more thoroughly.

a) It may be accepted as self-evident, upon clear statement, that the social methods of dealing with delinquent, depraved, and distressed members

of the community should aim at the *permanent* welfare of the object of charity and correction, not merely at the temporary alleviation of pain and misery. This is a maxim of prudence and wisdom which we employ in respect to ourselves and our children, and it is applicable to all. This means that physical needs, as hunger and cold, should be met, so far as possible, in a way to help build up character, habits of industry, a sense of independence and social responsibility.

b) It must be accepted as a result of a rational view of life that the methods of charity and correction must tend to improve and not degrade the race. The individual is only one factor in society; the common good is paramount.

c) It follows that momentary impulses must be judged and controlled by science, and not followed blindly. The impulse to give instantaneous relief may spring from a good motive, generous sympathy; but it requires rational control in order that the gift or service may really tend to the permanent well-being of the recipient and to the general well-being of the human race.

d) The duty of organization and rational co-operation is made clear by all that precedes. No man, no church, no benevolent association has a right to give relief as if no other philanthropy were in existence. Join a genuine fervor of good-

ness to ignorance and obstinacy and you have a combination perilous to society. The policy of a benefactor must take into consideration the total situation or it is sure to become anti-social, that is, immoral.

e) The social duty of securing *full information* can be established by widest induction. It is a perfectly fair statement that a charity worker should no more give relief without inquiry than a physician should administer a powerful remedy without a diagnosis.

f) Another maxim of very wide validity is that our charity and our correction ought to be *thorough;* ought to move to the end; that relief, for example, should be adequate and enough to restore the beneficiary to self-support if possible; that the treatment of a criminal should never cease so long as he is unfit for freedom and remains an enemy of society.

2. *Particular regulative principles appliable to classes of the depressed or depraved. Dependent children.*—The following summary statements of principles which should control social methods with dependent children may be discussed and criticized in the light of further reading and experience.

The best place for a homeless child, if normal in body and mind, is a good home in a family.

Institutions like receiving homes and orphanages are temporary makeshifts. Children should not be kept in large establishments; they need the close and intimate and brooding care of real fathers and mothers. If a widow or forsaken wife is fit to care for her children they should not be wrested from her, but she should be given means to keep them together and perform her mother's duty to them. It is more economical to pay her for rearing her own children than to hire an institution to do it poorly and compel her to neglect her household to earn a living outside the house. A mother can earn more money for society in educating her own children than in any other pursuit.

Abnormal children and adults—idiots, epileptics, and insane—cannot be treated as if they were normal. They cannot, if the nervous system is deeply and permanently disturbed by hereditary defect or by disease, be trusted with freedom and made responsible for self-support in competition with normal persons; nor are they fit to become parents, because their infirmities are transmitted to their offspring and their misery is perpetuated.

Into details of organization and administration we cannot go. The farm colony is the best type of institution for all abnormals; but separate colonies, administered on separate plans, are

required for the feeble-minded, the epileptics, and the insane. Persons of these three groups should not be mingled. This is also true of diseased and degenerate vagabonds and confirmed inebriates. They must have special colonies fitted up for the suitable hygienic, industrial, and moral training and custody required for their own welfare and the protection of society. These colonies should be under state control and should not be administered by county or city officials.

3. *Charity organization societies.*—In some form every city, town, and county should have a central office of charity for the following purposes: (1) to secure and keep on record all necessary information relating to needy persons and families in its district; (2) to provide capable visitors to study and relieve those who require any kind of assistance; (3) to bring all benevolent individuals, churches, and associations into co-operation, so that all their resources may be available and so that adequate help can be found for any distressed person; (4) to keep a register of all charitable institutions and agencies, with full and reliable information, and to publish a directory of charities, so that any citizen may learn where he can give his contributions of money or service to the best advantage; (5) incidentally, to discover and expose fraud and imposture, and so

save the benevolent fund of the community for use where it can accomplish its purpose without waste and without disappointment to those who make sacrifices; (6) to set in motion measures for preventing misfortune, sickness, and distress, and warn the public against crazy schemes of selfish or incompetent persons. All the measures included in a social policy and discussed in other chapters of this volume can be promoted by such a charity organization. In a village or rural county a general improvement society may include a special bureau or standing committee charged with the functions of a charity organization society for the district.

4. *State supervision and control.*—In the last analysis the people of a commonwealth must bear the consequences not only of pauperism, vice, and crime, but also of misdirected private philanthropy. It is therefore the duty of the commonwealth to exercise such a kind and degree of supervision and control of all charities and correction as will protect the welfare of the whole people in the present and future.

This needs no argument in respect to the institutions established by each state itself, as hospitals and asylums for the insane, the feeble-minded, the epileptics, schools for the blind and the deaf, reformatories, and prisons. For these

general institutions two forms of oversight are necessary, administration and supervision. These are entirely different functions and should never be performed by the same officials. The government never asks the administrators of a national bank to audit its own accounts and make decisions as to its conduct, but sends an examiner who works independently of the administration. The state must have one board of control for all its institutions, or one for each institution, or a board for each group of similar institutions; and the board, acting through expert superintendents, should govern and administer the affairs of the institution. In addition to these boards of control and administration, each state should have a board of charities and correction, composed of eminent citizens who work without pay, to visit, examine, and report their findings and recommendations to the people through the governor. The argument for this plan is too extended to be made use of here, but it is sustained by the best authorities in this country.

In addition to the state institutions there are those of counties and cities which exist by virtue of state laws. In the best system of supervision county and city almshouses, poorhouses, jails, and lockups are inspected, supervised, and controlled by officers of the state. They are sure to be the

scene of neglect and abuse if left altogether to local officers.

Of late more attention has been given to the desirability of bringing private charities under the inspection and control of the state. Experience has taught civilized nations that the insane, the feeble-minded, the wayward, and helpless children cannot be handed over to private associations, even of the churches, without providing for visitation and for control of abuses. Shocking scandals have arisen in the absence of such visitation and of power to remedy evils. If a charitable agency is doing excellent work and keeping honest accounts it need not fear the state visitor; his approval will help to secure funds from benevolent citizens, because he is independent of the management. An inefficient or dishonest superintendent may well dread such inspections.

TOPICS FOR LOCAL INQUIRY AND METHODS OF SERVICE

1. Appoint committees of two sensible and careful members to visit the county (or town) poorhouse or almshouse, the city lockup, the county jail, the various hospitals, the charity organization society, dispensaries, city missions, lodging houses, state institutions for the insane, epileptic, feeble-minded, blind, deaf, crippled, reform school, reformatory, prison.

2. Consider whether religious services may not well

be held in some of these places. Confer with the superintendents in responsible charge.

3. Inquire of officers of charitable and relief societies what kind of help is needed, in money, goods, personal service, and try to provide this aid as far as possible.

4. If the committee thinks errors, faults, or abuses are discovered do not rush into print with an attack, but bring the matter to conference with the responsible officials. Frequently they will receive thoughtful and humane suggestions and correct the wrong. Only in case of criminal misconduct, and abuses which the responsible authorities refuse to set aside, should officials be publicly criticized; and they should always have a fair hearing before condemnation. Amateur visitors are likely to be in error themselves, and should be careful.

5. Invite representatives of various charities and institutions to speak to the class or to furnish statements of their work and needs.

6. Help charity workers and officers of institutions to make known to the public their efforts and their needs.

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CHAPTER XIII

RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE GREAT CORPORATIONS

A new version of the story of the Good Samaritan is ready for publication. In the beautiful old story, spoken at a time when government was above the people, the charitable man who found the stranger dying in his blood, took care of him and paid for his healing. In the modern version the good Samaritan not only takes the robbed and wounded man to a hospital, but immediately goes after the robbers and brings them to justice; and for this he must have the help of other useful citizens and of government itself; hence now-a-days the good man goes into politics.

What we now call "democracy" and "solidarity" are just the ancient Christian virtues of kindness, brotherhood, and justice adopted into national morality and made into laws, courts, and administration. Christianity has not disappeared; it has become incarnate in wider and powerful political and economic organizations and institutions. Hence a Christian man, to find his duty, must not only study his Bible but also his economics, politics, and sociology; and in the world's actual life he will discover his religion at work,

demonstrating its truth and goodness by deeds. If religion is not dominant in business and law it is powerless in the petty circles of individual relations. Smoke from a factory chimney pours into the open windows of the church and blackens the very sanctuary.

I. THE NEW FACT OF THE PRESENT

The new fact of modern times is the organization of industry on a vast scale and in impersonal corporations. In manufactures, transportation, and trade economic organization has assumed colossal proportions, especially in America and in recent years. There have been distinctions of rich and poor in the past, and combinations of capital have not been unknown in former ages; but the huge aggregation of capital under the control of corporations is the distinctive mark of our economic order.

II. CAUSES OF THIS TENDENCY TO CONCENTRATION OF LARGE CAPITAL IN FEW HANDS

1. There are usually extensive economies in cost of production where manufacture, sale, and transportation are carried on upon a large scale. It is easy to illustrate this fact from making candles by the dozen to manufacturing them by the car load; from weaving coarse cloth by hand to the looms where a girl does more work than

many men could formerly turn out; from cart to freight train; from sailing ship to ocean transportation companies. Everywhere cost per unit diminishes, product per worker increases; but only on condition that people work in large numbers under strict discipline.

2. Since the cost of producing, transporting, and selling goods is lower, in consequence of these economies, the price at which they can be sold to the consumer is less. This is always true if there is competition, and if the advantage to the capitalist cannot be retained altogether in his own hands. When women, who are the principal shoppers, seek bargains they soon find the places where prices are lowest, and there they buy. Generally it is the department store which offers the greatest variety of wares at lowest cost, and there the shoppers gather. It is the consumers who build up the great corporations; it is they who starve out the little shops, petty manufacturers, and merchants.

3. It is true that there is often an illegitimate force at work to produce concentration of productive agencies and capital; as when the capitalist secures advantages over competitors by fraud, by bribing public officials, by making secret terms with railroads and other transportation companies, and by other immoral and illegal methods.

It has not always been easy for the general public to discover these unjust and hurtful methods of securing control and undue advantage over competitors and consumers, for such measures are naturally carried out in secret; when they are discovered there is indignant denial; and not seldom the charges made are false, resulting from disappointed greed or envy or ignorance.

It is true that extraordinarily large fortunes generally go with unusual commercial ability, and to this extent genius is a cause of concentration of wealth. But immense fortunes often go to men who may be financially efficient, yet dangerous citizens; sometimes wealth results from a series of accidents; sometimes it is inherited by incompetents and held together by trust companies. There is not much difference in ability between financiers of this generation and those of past generations; but there are enormous differences in riches. Therefore great wealth cannot be in any sort of ratio to the ability of possessors, and evidently is not uniformly the reward of virtue.

III. MODE OF APPROACH TO THIS PERPLEXING PROBLEM OF RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF MANAGERS OF GREAT INDUSTRIES

The reader is earnestly requested carefully to study again the contents of our first chapter, the

analysis of the ends and elements of social welfare. What is right, what is duty, what is good, and what is the moral obligation of the community in relation to these new forces of concentrated wealth and industrial activity? We must remember that what is good is the welfare of all men, women, and children in the nation, not merely the welfare of a class, however large; that welfare includes physical, material, and spiritual good; and that order, liberty, and opportunity are the necessary social conditions for the common realization of welfare as thus described. All these facts must be held together in the mind and balanced there. This is not easy; it is difficult and some think impossible; but if one element of welfare is left out, or one citizen, however humble and vicious, is ignored, action of the community is by so much immoral, unjust, unreasonable.

The more weighty, complex, and difficult the problem is, the more necessary is it to suspend judgment until all facts are in, and to use all possible diligence and care to discover the facts just as they are. Reality will avenge itself on falsehood, whether intentional or not. This is true of a scholar's book, of a preacher's sermon, of a law enacted by Congress, or a decision of a supreme court. A traditional, conventional, fash-

ionable lie can never do the work of truth. Majorities do not change reality, and some of the worst wrongs have been perpetrated by the voice of the people. One of the chief moral tasks of our age is to teach the people what is just and right, especially in vast affairs.

Let us take some illustrations of the complexity of considerations of right and wrong in relation to industry and trade. From the standpoint of a director of an urban electric-lighting company the test of success might be the profits which flow into his own bank account; but this test is not final. There are the interests of stockholders who have, some of them out of meager means, furnished the capital for the enterprise; and there are the interests of consumers of light; and beyond that the interests of the employees, the security of order, life, and property in the city, the danger of corrupting the city council, and a hundred other considerations. It is precisely because some strong men have regarded only their own personal interests and have ignored the sufferings and rights of others that we witness the rise of so many colossal sins and iniquities.

In the manufacture of iron and steel America has won splendid triumphs, and the prices of steel wares have been lowered for the multitudes of consumers. Yet both manufacturers and the pub-

lic have enjoyed these enormous advantages largely at cost of the workmen in the mills, thousands of whom have been tortured, maimed, killed, and their widows and fatherless children left to pauperism and vice, because safety appliances were neglected in the hot pursuit of cheap iron and large dividends, and because American employers have not provided accident insurance for their employees, as is done in all other Christian lands. The fact is that this rich and prosperous country has been willing to enjoy the results of toil and agony, and throw the chief cost upon poor immigrant workmen.[1]

This article will not solve any problem nor set any question at rest; but it is to be hoped that it will lead many to avoid snap judgments, and show students of social morality what hard and prolonged thinking it will cost to form an opinion which has any value.

In a simple rural community, such as were those in which our ancestors lived, it was not usually very difficult to see the right way. If a

[1] See article by W. Hard, in *Everybody's Magazine*, November, 1907; and September and October, 1908; *Charities and Commons*, February, 1901, and December, 1907, and January, February, and March, 1909; various articles in the *American Journal of Sociology*, 1907–8, by C. R. Henderson, on "Industrial Insurance," these articles being also published in a volume (The University of Chicago Press, 1909).

man stole a pig or a load of grain the plain fact could be proved and the wrong was clear to anyone. But who can be quite sure that a great corporation or a ring of politicians is stealing from him in excessive prices for goods, in tariffs, or in taxes? Men are not likely to call attention to themselves with a megaphone at a moment when their hands are deep in public funds; and even if they are discovered, they look innocent and shout out against "agitators" and "demagogues" and "muck-rakers." Still more curiously such plunderers are frequently sincere when they complain of the criticisms of the public. First they hide the facts and then berate their critics for ignorance of business!

Thought and action are inevitable and necessary. There is a crisis. The nature of the moral crisis may be stated in several propositions: Experience shows that arbitrary and unquestioned power in the hands of private men of ability is sure to be abused, if there is money to be made by the abuse. The transfer of property to a small group of irresponsible persons without just equivalent means hardship and ruin for many thousands. The use of arbitrary power over capital, labor, and commerce, secretly, without criticism and publicity, tends to paralyze the moral nature of those who exercise it, until they actually

call darkness light, and black white. Such evils only in part correct themselves, for commercial and political corruption is not a "self-limiting disease." Most of the abuses of extraordinary power are so closely connected with valuable public services that they can be corrected only with the greatest wisdom and care. Thus, for example, speculation in stocks, bonds, grain, oil, etc., is hard to regulate without destroying the business of dealing in these commodities. In the management of manufactures, railroads, and commerce, the business requires ingenuity, energy, central administration, and interference must be extremely wise if it does not injure public interests.

Examples of the complaints of abuses of power by privileged corporations may here be cited, not to create prejudice but to direct thought upon specific problems.

In more than a few instances it can be shown that small groups of astute directors have established railroads by favor of the state giving bounties in land and money, by giving valuable franchises amounting to monopoly without any return; then the directors have so manipulated the road that the stockholders have been cheated out of their investments, that the inside "ring" might become enriched; and then the rates have been so arranged as to favor selected customers

and towns at the expense of other customers and towns. At every turn only one interest has controlled all action—the interest of the little group of directors who were in the secret of management.

The manufacturers of steel and steel products have been arraigned for alleged misconduct and selfish policy; and it has been asserted specifically that they have secured from Congress special tariffs on imported steel and then charged American customers higher prices than they charged foreign customers; that they have ruined competitors by unfair means; that they have exploited their workmen by working them inhumanly long hours, subjecting them to unnecessary perils of life and limb, and leaving them to starve when they were disabled in the course of their occupation.

Other large corporations dealing in sugar, flour, oil, and other necessary commodities are charged with suppressing competition and then raising the price of the goods beyond what it would be if competition prevailed; that they have corrupted legislatures and courts to gain their ends; that they have burdened every poor family with an excessive charge for their services; and that the successful manipulators spend much of

the fortune in luxury and waste and to the moral degradation of their heirs left without a motive for industry.

It is constantly affirmed by men who have studied specific cities that the privileges of franchises giving the exclusive use of public property in streets to private persons for street cars, gas pipes, water works, telephones, etc., have often been secured without adequate, if any, return to the people by bribing members of city councils to be untrue to their constituents.

It has been discovered that selected taxpayers have bribed or brow-beaten assessors and so hidden millions of personal property from taxation, thus throwing the burden of supporting government and schools upon others much less able to bear this burden. A business which does not carry its part of taxation has a great advantage over those whose managers willingly or unwillingly pay the full sum due. If a rich merchant's goods and house are worth one million dollars and are assessed for taxes at five hundred thousand dollars, while a poor grocer's property worth two thousand dollars is assessed for taxes at eighteen hundred dollars, there is a huge injustice; and such inequality is only too common.

IV. WHAT IS SOCIAL DUTY IN VIEW OF SUCH FACTS?

1. Individual virtue goes but a little way in such a situation; the only effect of being a virtuous taxpayer is to be robbed by tax-dodgers who make lying and even perjured returns to assessors. It does a family little good to be honest when transportation and lighting companies are laying enormous charges upon them in monopoly prices for goods and services. We must find a way to educate the conscience of the great managers or compel them to do justly.

Unfortunately the obligation of the managers of our corporations to the public is not yet as clearly recognized as their obligation to the stockholders. Some of those who are most scrupulous about doing all that they can for the stockholders make this an excuse for doing as little as they can for the public in general, and disclaim indignantly the existence of any wider trust or any outside duty which should interfere with the performance of their primary trust to the last penny. There is many a man who in the conduct of his own life, and even of his own personal business, is scrupulously regardful of public opinion, but who, as the president of a corporation, disregards that opinion rather ostentatiously. Personally he is sensitive to public condemnation, but as a trustee he honestly believes that he has no right to indulge any such sensitiveness. He is unselfish in the one case, and selfish in the other.[2]

[2] A. T. Hadley, *Standards of Public Morality*, pp. 84 ff.

2. It is evident that no wise and salutary action can ever be taken in the dark by citizens who are excited to indignation over stories of their wrongs but who do not know the facts from trustworthy and reliable sources. If a private citizen asks a corrupt manager for facts he will be kicked out of the office; indeed he can never secure an interview with the person really responsible.

Public corporations must have public accounts, for publicity alone will enable the citizens to act justly both to the corporations and to the community. For the nation is really served by corporations and with great efficiency, and it is only abuses that require correction. An honest directorate will have nothing to conceal; and brigands should be forced to show their accounts. The necessity for publicity has been acknowledged officially by one of the greatest corporations the world has known:

> I say with the utmost frankness that I now believe the policy of silence which the company maintained for so many years, amid the misrepresentations which assailed it, was a mistaken policy, which, if earlier abandoned, would have saved the company from the injurious effects of much of that misrepresentation.[1]

When the multitude of consumers, whose painful daily economies compel them to give attention

[1] John D. Archbold, vice-president of the Standard Oil Company, in *Saturday Evening Post*, December 7, 1907.

to all that affects their interests, seek for light on the conduct of quasi-public corporations, they are baffled by conflicting reports and rumors; they are virtually compelled to pass some sort of judgment and seek relief. If the only persons who know all the facts refuse to make statements, an adverse judgment is inevitable and, if uncontradicted, will surely find expression in legislation. The people must finally be trusted with the truth, and they will insist on having it.

The leaders of the great industries are usually selected from our most capable men; the representatives of government are frequently incapable, if not dishonest and corrupt; and it has been natural that strongly individualistic "captains of industry" should despise officials and resent their interference. But not all public officials are weak and wicked; and if they were the leaders of corporations should be the first to help secure better men for office; for, after all, corporations are but creatures of government and have no rights except what they have been conditionally given by government of the people and for the people. Success in amassing wealth may blind arrogant business men to this commonplace fact, but blindness is not a good qualification for facing reality, and the people "cannot be fooled all the time," as Lincoln said.

In the words of President Hadley, who, as a conservative and instructed economist, is entitled to respectful hearing:

> The constitution guarantees that no man shall be deprived of his property without due process of law; that no state shall pass any law impairing the obligation of contract; and that a corporation has the right of a person in the sense of being entitled to fair and equal treatment. The conservatism of the American people goes farther than this. It supports a business man in the exercise of his traditional rights, because it believes, on the basis of the experience of centuries, that the exercise of these rights will conduce to the public interests. It puts the large industries of the country in the hands of corporations, even when this results in creating corporate monopoly, because it distrusts the unrestricted extension of government activity, and believes that business is on the whole better handled by commerical agencies than by political ones. But every case of failure to meet public needs somewhat shakes the public in this confidence; and this confidence is not only shaken but destroyed if the manager of a corporation claims immunity from interference as a moral or constitutional right, independent of the public interests involved. Those who fear the effects of increased government activity must prove by their acceptance of ethical duties to the public that they are not blind devotees of an industrial past which has ceased to exist, but are preparing to accept the heavier burdens and obligations which the industrial present carries with it.

In the long run business men, courts, legislators, governors, and presidents, will do what the

people believe ought to be done; and what the people think and will comes from the wide diffusion of knowledge of facts and principles. Therefore when the Christian young men of the nation band together for years, part of every Sunday, to learn what is right in great affairs, the tendency will be to make corporations more regardful of alert and educated public opinion. The church as an organization can take no partisan position, cannot enforce laws nor make them, cannot have a political policy or programme; but it can and should help to educate men and women who know what is right and will have the moral courage as citizens to demand and enforce reasonable laws.

3. Even as it is we can expect much from resolute and intelligent action by executive officers of government and from courts in the enforcement of law as it stands now. For example, a sturdy and honest president has brought to their knees rich men who were literally stealing lands and mines and timber which belong to the nation. Without partiality the national conscience demands of public leaders that they punish and repress tramps, thieves, robbers, and burglars, whether the property stolen is a paper of pins, or a coal mine, a railroad, an insurance fund, or a forest of valuable trees.

The revolution in the corrupt management of certain great life-insurance companies is an example of what may be done by an enlightened public opinion acting through capable and upright executives.

4. Short of socialism there are various methods by which the public can protect its rights against the encroachment of corporations which it has created and which have grown under benign protection of law to such huge proportions. The courts have already so interpreted the laws and applied them in particular cases as to prevent selfish and unscrupulous use of power and wealth and commercial organization. Courts are human in character and judgment, and they cannot go beyond constitutions and laws made within constitutional limits; and often they are under the hampering influence of traditions which no longer fit modern industrial conditions. But with all their limitations the courts of our land are the best representatives of a wise, careful, just judgment of the common welfare.

Next to courts of law come the commissions which are appointed by states and federal government to regulate the action of corporations and see that they conform to the law. The most conspicuous and well-known example of this method of public control is the Interstate Com-

merce Commission, whose chief task is to regulate the conduct of the railroads in matters of rates.

When a corporation is created and given a franchise the state or city may control its conduct in the future by making it a condition that a certain part of the profits go to the community treasury, or that streets be kept in good order, or that fares are reduced, or that workingmen are humanely treated in matters of hours and wages. The granting of a franchise is an opportunity for the public to restrict the selfishness of a corporation and to oblige it to respect various common rights.

Another method of control is public ownership of plant, as of tracks and cars of a street railway, with leases to corporations on fixed terms which protect common interests during the life of the contract.

In the last resort, and when all milder measures fail, the city, state, or nation always reserves the right to purchase and control any kind of business, and so manage it that the profits shall go to all and the employees shall be treated as the conscience of the people requires. In its extreme application this would be socialism, a system under which all capital, all instruments of production, would be owned and managed by the

community. For reasons already indicated the people of America and other modern nations never resort to this method until all others fail. Examples of such public management may be seen in caring for the sewerage of cities, rivers, and harbors, the federal post-office, city water works, and some other public utilities.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

At the conference on trusts and combinations held in Chicago, October, 1907, under the leadership of the National Civic Federation, the following subjects were considered: Should the federal government, alone or in harmony with state governments, regulate interstate commerce? In relation to corporations: How should they be constructed? Should there be national corporations as well as those created by the state? What should be the basis of capitalization of corporations? of their internal control? the provisions looking to the protection of investors and stockholders, as well as fair dealing with the public? Should there be a distinction between public-service and other corporations? Should quasi-public utilities, like gas, electric lighting, and street railways, be considered natural monopolies to be regulated by the municipality? What is the just and practicable limit of restriction and regulation, federal and state, of combinations in transportation, production, distribution and labor? Shall the Sherman anti-trust act be amended? If so, how?

From the highest official in our nation, President Roosevelt, we have clear, strong, and distinct declarations of the moral principles which are at

the heart of the recent movement to protect honest corporations, to punish criminals in high places, and to protect the just rights of stockholders, employees, consumers, and all members of the community. Perhaps we cannot find a more accurate statement of the general drift of educated public opinion, although considerable differences of opinion exist in respect to particular points, than in the following utterance by the President:

> Experience has shown that it is necessary to exercise a far more efficient control than at present over the business use of these vast fortunes, chiefly corporate, in interstate business.
>
> There is no objection in the minds of this people to any man's earning any amount of money if he does it honestly and fairly, if he gets it as the result of special skill and enterprise, as a reward of ample service actually rendered. But there is a growing determination that no man shall amass a great fortune by special privilege, by chicanery and wrong-doing, so far as it is in the power of legislation to prevent and that the fortune shall not have a business use that is antisocial.

Every honest manager of a great corporation will desire the enactment and enforcement of laws which prevent the unscrupulous from having an advantage in the struggle for wealth. President Roosevelt also said:

> One great problem that we have before us is to preserve the rights of property; and these can only be preserved

if we remember that they are less in jeopardy from the socialist and the anarchist than from the predatory man of wealth. It has become evident that to refuse to invoke the power of the nation to restrain the wrongs committed by the man of great wealth who does evil is not only to neglect the interests of the public, but also to neglect the interests of the man of means who acts honorably by his fellows. The power of the nation must be exercised to stop crimes of cunning no less than crimes of violence. There can be no halt in the course we have deliberately elected to pursue, the policy of asserting the right of the nation, so far as it has the power, to supervise and control the business use of wealth, especially in its corporate form.

Those who object to this language must do so on the ground that private interests ought to be permitted a free field, even with numerous special privileges, without any right on the part of the great public even to ask how their conduct affects the people. That would be slavery, and submission would be a confession that the nation was not fit to live.

Legal and social responsibility must be fixed on responsible persons, not on underlings. Stockholders of corporations are scattered over the world and ask only for dividends on investments. To fine the company has no effect so long as it is cheaper to pay fines after long litigation than to correct abuses. It is unjust to punish sub-

ordinates who may even have protested against the wrong, but have been overruled with threats of dismissal by the men at the head. If the public desires to secure its welfare it must strike at the top, it must hit the men who direct or profess to direct the policy of the corporation. If a few directors were sent to the penitentiary for long periods for arrogantly defying the law, there would be fewer rich men who pretend to belong to the boards of dozens of corporations and know really little of any one of them except the balance sheets. It is said that we have no right to criticize the managers of corporations; that such criticism injures credit and brings on crises and serious disturbances in the financial world. But while there is much criticism that is ignorant and misdirected, are not the dishonest directors most to blame? It is notorious that the very greatest insurance companies were nests of robbers, as is shown by the reorganization after exposures which brought a useful business and our nation into contempt. Business men of unquestioned integrity and intelligence have found in various cities that in securing franchises the honest men had no chance of success in competing with thieves who were not too scrupulous to bribe councilmen and fix primaries. Demagogues are to blame for a great deal of mischief, and labor leaders some-

times excite class hate and prejudice; but they derive their keenest arguments from statements made by competent lawyers, judges, and business men who lay bare the actual deeds of corporate wrong-doers. Resistance to the legal requirement of life-saving devices on railroads, guards to dangerous machinery, and to the prohibition of child-labor in mills and factories is not a secret but is known to every wage-earner and social student in the nation. And until this selfish policy is openly and resolutely fought by managers of corporations, and until they cease supporting costly lobbies at state capitals to defeat humane and reasonable laws, the innocent majority must suffer with the minority of directors. It is idle to affirm that all this antagonism to corporate mismanagement is without ground. It is bad enough to do wrong to millions; it is national moral ruin to suppress discussion by threats of panics. A panic would be a blessing if it would sweep away all the gigantic corruption and robbery which have slain millions of children, debased political life, set wage earners into a separate class against all others, made virtue seem the badge of weaklings, taught the masses to regard the church and college as the ally of strong public enemies, used the press to throw sand in the eyes of the public, and made men feel that

their very souls were the slaves of some unseen power, and not "that which makes for righteousness."

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CHAPTER XIV

SOCIAL DUTIES RELATING TO THE BUSINESS CLASS AND THE LEISURE CLASS

Since the only alternative of having a class of capitalist managers at enormous salaries ("profits") to direct industry and commerce is some form of collectivism or socialism we may properly consider these together. It is not the hope or purpose of the writer to attempt any so-called "solution" of this problem, but only to direct attention upon its essential factors, and to stimulate independent and fair-minded discussion.

I. SOCIALISM, SOMETIMES CALLED COLLECTIVISM, WORTHY OF CONSIDERATION

There is nothing essentially antagonistic to Christianity in the economic and political theory of socialism; so that a Christian man can study the proposed measures of socialists without regard to the materialistic, atheistic, and immoral notions which sometimes accompany the popular movement. It is our duty to distinguish certain metaphysical assumptions of leading writers from their actual economic principles.

Socialism nowhere exists as a working system. In all civilized countries the actual economic and political system is that of private property in the

instruments of production, administration by owners and by business managers, free contract between employers and employed, payment for services in rent, interest, salaries, profits, or wages according to the kind of social service rendered.

Socialism is an ideal, not yet a reality anywhere; it is a philosophy, not an actual political organization having constitutional and legal foundation; it is a programme of a movement urged by millions of workingmen and their leaders; it is a party which urges revolutionary changes, but a party which has in no country been intrusted with entire control, although in several European nations it holds the balance of power and can effectively demand many measures short of complete socialization of industry.

1. *The definition of socialism* should be taken from its friends, not from its enemies. These definitions vary considerably, yet they converge upon one point: the public control of all lands, machinery, and means of transportation, as contrasted with control by private owners and managers.

2. *Classic creeds of socialism.*—It is proper to speak of creeds in this connection because socialism has with many taken the place of religion and because it is a set of articles of faith in a future

social state on earth, rather than a description and explanation of an actual social system.

3. *Dangerous doctrines of some of the Socialists.*—Certain influential leaders of this party have advocated the abolition of the family, or such radical reconstruction of it as to destroy it. Lax notions about "free love," easy divorce, excuses for sensuality, have been promulgated in the name of socialism; but they are not a necessary part of its economic and political principles.

Occasionally a violent and destructive assault on the present institutions of government, with wholesale murder and confiscation, has been urged by hot-headed revolutionists of collectivism; but in general the party seeks to attain its ultimate ends by gradual and peaceful changes in the constitutions and laws.

4. *Why society hesitates to establish a socialistic government.*—Only a few hints on this large subject can here be offered. Perhaps the following reasons, if properly expanded with illustrations and proofs, may be regarded as influential in Europe and America.

It is believed that each man will be most industrious, ingenious, inventive, energetic, and hence produce most for social needs, if he is left free and responsible for his own support. It is thought that individual enterprise is more fruit-

ful than state enterprise. Practical men fear to increase beyond necessity the army of civil officers and employees of nation, states, and cities, lest they should control all activities and practically enslave all others. It is said that most public employees become lazy, negligent, and mechanical, and combine to reduce their productivity and to increase their income at public expense. If the state were the only employer of labor and talent there would be but one market and the income of each man would be determined by popular vote or by administrative rules. Lurid pictures are painted of the monotony, slavery, stagnation, perhaps extinction, of a society so organized.

Rather than risk these imagined, perhaps probable, evils, society at present prefers to accept the evil with the good of the capitalistic system; prefers to intrust the management of business to men selected by severe competition as the most capable for the purpose; prefers to give them as profits all that is left after wages, interest, taxes, insurance, and other expenses have been paid; prefers to give them a free hand and almost absolute control of better machinery, men, and product, rather than meddle too much with their plans and conduct.

Under this system, it is true, comparatively few men become enormously rich, sometimes

within a few years; that is, they pay themselves fabulous sums for the service they render, or they simply plunder the public while the public property is intrusted to them. Yet, so great is the dread of socialism, and of its supposed consequences, that most men in modern countries hesitate to exchange the known inconveniences for others which may be far greater; and they hope to tame, control, and utilize the men of genius and talent, rather than lose the value of their gifts by asking them to work in chains.

5. *Duty of the church to Socialists.*—Manifestly it is our duty, first of all, to try to understand them and their teachings, to treat them fairly in word and deed, to correct their errors by offering a larger truth and a better way, if possible.

So far as their political and economic platform is concerned, the church has no more reason to attack or defend it than in case of the propositions of any other political party.

If Socialists point out evils in our present system we ought to heed them, and if they suggest a practical plan of improvement we should hear them without prejudice, remembering that their leaders are either sufferers or on intimate terms of confidence with the sufferers. It is not safe to stop up the vent of an escape valve when

steam pressure approaches the bursting tension. It is dangerous to suppress free speech when discontented men express the grievances of a multitude of voters. The answer to a heresy is truth, not a dungeon or a scaffold.

II. SOCIAL DUTIES TOWARD THE CLASS OF BUSINESS MANAGERS

It is altogether probable that some men of this class will resent any, even the slightest suggestion that they are a "social problem," that their morals require public attention. A popular piece of profanity is supposed to express the ordinary contempt of successful men for public opinion.

We lack thus far any satisfactory investigation of the conduct of the leaders of commerce and industry, and we should express general criticism with careful reserve. Much as they are before the public, thoroughly as they are advertised, they have their secrets and guard them with jealous care. What is written in this chapter, therefore, is intended to start questions, to direct observation and inquiry upon vital points, and to command not only that charity which is due to all, but also that judicial fairness which it is sometimes so hard to maintain toward successful neighbors. Nowhere is it more desirable to keep our judgments of men well within the limits of ascertained facts,

and to refrain from any damaging assertion which cannot be proved by competent testimony.

Indeed the primary social duty to business managers is to ascertain the facts so far as they bear on the conduct of the community, upon criticism, upon legislation, upon the decisions of juries, the discipline of churches, and any actions which may affect the comfort and honor of a large number of our fellow-men. That business men need such defense as comes from a fair and intelligent public opinion may be shown by the treatment often accorded them by juries in the courts. Here again we cannot pretend to offer statistical proofs; we do not know, perhaps could not discover, what proportion of trials involving rich men and corporations before juries have been unfairly decided. But judging by numerous testimonies of lawyers, judges, newspapers, and business men, and by the current talk about courts, we are safe in affirming that juries of men in ordinary circumstances often give verdicts which are not sustained by facts or by law.

That there is often provocation for juries to wreak revenge when they get a chance we may affirm on the ground of the same kind of evidence. But should not public opinion condemn verdicts which show a manifest bias of class envy and revenge? Will not a thoroughly enlightened con-

science seek to right wrongs through change in laws rather than in making the courts the instrument of vengeance and class passion?

If the "business managers" as a class are, as Socialists affirm, bloodsuckers and parasites, if they really are useless members of society, if they reap where they do not sow, if they spoil the people and render no equivalent in services, then let us find a substitute for their leadership in salaried officers and declare their places vacant.

But if the business manager does render a service to all of us by the invention of methods, by hard work of administration, by able and economical organization of mills, mines, factories, railways, and telegraph companies, then let us not object to his paying himself out of the profits of business. It is either the business manager or socialism; there is no other alternative.

If the business manager takes more than society thinks he earns there are various legal ways of restricting his exploitations and securing a larger share of the product for other classes, as by trade-unions, co-operative societies, inheritance taxes, income taxes, state commissions, contracts in letting franchises, and other methods of legal control.

But so long as society chooses, on the whole, to leave to business managers the responsibility of

directing manufactures and trade, it is neither wise nor just to make courts into instruments of petty persecution or means of satisfying envy. The meanest passions of mankind, as envy, hate, revenge, are not good counselors in a democracy.

If fortunes have been made by reckless or dishonest management of large corporations, the obvious remedies are, reform of our corporation laws and the cultivation of higher standards of business morals. . . . . New legislation will be needed, but the relentless enforcement of existing laws against such old-fashioned offenses as conspiracy and theft would probably go far to accomplish the desired result. Make it as dangerous to mismanage a transcontinental railway as to hold up a transcontinental express, and you will speedily reduce one class of swollen fortunes. Make it as perilous for an officer to plunder an insurance company as for a clerk to appropriate a few hundred dollars from its funds, and you will reduce another class. Punish the financier who loots a street railway as you punish the hungry man who robs a bakery, and you will reach a third class of fortunes.[1]

The same author further urges that laws to prevent railways from favoring rich customers by rebates and otherwise will give competition a chance to protect the public. When the protective tariff has built up fortunes at the cost of the public their modification or repeal would drain the superfluous wealth which was ill-gotten. The exploitation of

[1] Professor C. J. Bullock, *State and Local Taxation*, pp. 234, 235.

franchises has been a dishonorable source of riches to certain men, and effective control of public-service corporations would correct this evil.

III. THE LEISURE CLASS

The "leisure class" includes the second crop of the children of the "business managers." It is a new phenomenon in American life. It has been supposed that money-making was the American disease, a form of insanity which attacks all our business men. But now we begin to hear complaints that our fertile soil of new fortunes is producing a leisure class of "busybodies who do nothing at all." Here again really scientific collections of facts are wanting. We have no right to accuse a whole class of wrongdoing which may be confined to a minority or to exceptional cases of persons disliked and condemned in their own circles.

But while we are waiting for some competent student of social science to accumulate, arrange, and interpret the facts about the leisure class, we are safe in seeking the meaning of certain tendencies, fashions, and conduct which are not only notorious but are ostentatiously and insultingly thrust into our faces. Our condemnation must not be taken to go one inch beyond the persons actually guilty, and they do not sweepingly

cover the whole area of any section of population. Even in many of the homes of luxury there are acts of devotion, self-denial, charity, patriotism, religion. The very rich live so far away from most of us, up there in another world, on Olympian heights, that we never hear of many of the good deeds which they do though they are usually not hidden from reporters.

Professor G. H. Palmer, of Harvard University, a man of wide observation and calm philosophic judgment, voices a general truth when he says:

> It is now acknowledged that the most questionable advantage of large wealth is its influence on children. Those who acquire it are likely enough to grow with its pursuit, and the control over the world which it brings to its vigorous accumulator is not unfavorable to enjoyment or to still further advance. But children who have never known want get few deep draughts of joy. Whoever prizes human conditions in proportion to their tendency to develop powers must commiserate the children of the rich and think of them as our unfortunate classes. They associate less with their parents than do others; their goings and comings are more hampered; they are not so easily habituated to regular tasks; . . . . and when tempted to vice or mediocrity they have little counter compulsion to support their better purpose. Wise rich parents know these dangers and give their anxious thought to shielding their children from the enervating influence of wealth.[1]

[1] Professor G. H. Palmer, p. 21.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

Let the class make a list of all the sons of wealthy men of whom they can learn, and ascertain whether wealth has been to them a help or a disadvantage.

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CHAPTER XV

SOCIAL DUTIES IN RELATION TO GOVERNMENT

Let every soul be in subjection to the higher powers: for there is no power but of God; and the powers that be are ordained of God. . . . . For this cause ye pay tribute also; for they are ministers of God's service (Rom. 13:1-7).

I. THE CHIEF FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

(1) The national or federal government, with its central offices at Washington, is that agency through which the entire nation executes its will, defends every citizen and every part of territory from foreign attack, and secures unity and law for every state. (2) State governments constitute another form, with their constitutions and laws, their courts and administrative officers. (3) Lastly, we have local governments, as of counties, cities and towns, or townships.

II. WHAT IS THE USE OF GOVERNMENT?

Government in this country is not something imposed on us nor given to us, but it is an institution which has grown with the needs of men and is maintained by the will and means of the people.

Modern democracy, the rise of the people to power, has put into the hands of the doer of good and the righter of wrongs a tool the reformer in Wesley's time had not. That tool is the free democratic republic,

through which the power of all can be used for the benefit of all. Democracy is the use of all the resources of nature by all the faculties of man for the good of all the people. The reformer today is thrice-armed; to personal effort he can add political effort. He can socialize, organize the doing of good. He can institutionalize the Golden Rule. . . . . Our central problem is to regenerate the individual, and the proof that an individual has been regenerated is that he proceeds to regenerate things about him—and that's Democracy, and that's the Religion of Labor.[1]

The people of a land or of a town can do some things for the common welfare better through government than in any other way. Some illustrations will make this clear and show what a people can accomplish by means of a good government. (1) The first condition of life is public order, since we could not make plans of business or pleasure or worship if we were exposed to interruption and disturbance by persons who chose to act selfishly. There are always men ready to enjoy their lives in a way to annoy and injure others unless there is a power to restrain them: and in order to have rules of conduct for all we must have a law made by consent of all. No private individual can be trusted to make regulations for all others. (2) Protection is needed against the attacks of rude, selfish, dishonest, and criminal men. Without law and

[1] H. D. Lloyd, *Man, the Social Creator*, p. 273.

courts and police, strong and bad men will rob or hurt children and women and the sick or aged. We sleep in greater security only because the policemen walk the street at night and watch lawless men. The firemen defend our houses against fire, often at risk of life. (3) Laws and rulers guard and regulate liberty of speech and action so that the equal freedom of all is not hindered. There is no liberty without law. The very word "rights" has no reality under it in the absence of government. (4) It is through government that health is protected. Only by law can ignorant and careless persons be prevented from leaving foul and decaying matter to poison air and water. Boards of health in states and cities enact and enforce regulations which prevent the spread of diseases like cholera, smallpox, scarlet fever, diphtheria, and consumption. At the seaports all immigrants are examined to see that they do not infect others with dreadful diseases. Hospitals are frequently erected or paid for healing the sick; and scientific men are kept busy studying the causes of illness and means of prevention. (5) Ways of travel and transportation are either furnished or improved and regulated by governments. Over the entire land is a network of roads, paths, and highways which have been provided by laws and improved by officials elected

by the people. (6) The postal system is a fine illustration of means of communication open to rich and poor alike and kept from private control. This system reaches every nook and corner of the land; it serves many humble villages and homes which could not afford to send and receive letters if they were compelled to depend on private enterprise. In Europe the telegraph and telephone, as well as the postal system, are managed cheaply and efficiently by state governments. (7) Men need frequently to have a peaceable and impartial means of defining their rights and duties, and when "self the wavering balance shakes, 'tis rarely right adjusted." Men bring such disputes before the learned and impartial courts and, without violence, accept and act upon the lawful decision. The alternative would be fighting, in which the strong and cunning rather than the upright would have the advantage. (8) Few citizens have taken the pains to learn what our governments are doing for knowledge, for that science which enables us to navigate the seas, discover the riches of mines, increase wealth and civilization by culture of the soil and rearing of animals. The agricultural experiment stations alone add to the national wealth billions of dollars beyond their moderate cost. (9) Inventions are fostered by the national patent office which secures the inventor his rights

and encourages new experiments by its method of rewards. (10) The most important work of governments is that of education. No nation has yet avoided the disgrace and danger of supporting an ignorant and degenerating class if it left education to private enterprise. There are always many who are too poor to send their children to school, and many too lazy or stupid or cruel. An ignorant class is a national peril, a menace to health, wealth, and morals. Where all citizens have the franchise our very government itself is threatened by the presence of a horde of stupid voters who cannot understand the effect of their use of suffrage. Further than this every child has a right to education, and only through public schools can these rights be secured to all. There never was nor can be universal education which is not compulsory education.

The illustrations just given might be greatly extended in all directions. Indeed as society grows in numbers and civilization it is inevitable that the government shall have more duties, simply because in no other way can the people get things done which they believe it is their duty and interest to have done.

An honest judge, in charging a jury, thus urged the supreme value of the government to all citizens:

Do you know there is no other friend you have that is as good a friend to you as the law? It made provision for you before you were born; it enables you to wear that coat which you have on your back, the shoes on your feet, or someone stronger would take them away from you.

It is a guard over your house. It protects you from burglars; it stands guard over your property, your reputation, your life; and if you are sick and friendless it will take care of you in the hospital; if you are dying it will protect your body. No labor union has ever been the friend to you that the law has been. You ought to have respect for the law above any other institution.

III. HOW ARE GOVERNMENTS SUPPORTED?

Sources of revenue.—The government cannot render all these services without means, that is, money and services. The chief means of support come from taxes upon the property, industry, and incomes of citizens. It is true that where a city, for example, carries on an enterprise like gas-making, water supply, street transportation, it may support these works from the income of the business. It is a grave question of our times whether and how far this kind of business is wise. At present we pass over this factor. (1) The principal sources of income for the support of the federal government are the internal revenue from liquor and tobacco taxes, taxes on imported goods (tariffs), stamp duties, and, in times of

special need, income taxes. (2) The state and local governments are supported by direct taxes levied on real estate and on all kinds of personal property, and fees for services of public officers, licenses, and others. Further details for each state must be studied in the local laws, as well as in books to be cited. That it is the duty of all citizens to support their government, and thus pay for the good that is done and received, in proportion to the ability to pay, is theoretically admitted by all except an immoral or an eccentric minority. This is one of the conclusions about social duty which the moral sense of this nation will not permit to be set at defiance. But there are grave wrongs which tend to corrupt morality and call for earnest co-operation.

IV. ETHICAL PROBLEMS OF ASSESSMENT AND TAXATION. WHAT IS RIGHT TO REQUIRE AND DO?

1. *Problems of national support.*—The actual support of our federal government comes largely from taxes on imported goods, on alcholic liquor, and on tobacco. What is the duty of upright citizens in this matter, so far as they have influence? A few questions will show that only prolonged and careful study will justify any man in exerting his political power actively on such

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subjects. What is the effect of a tariff imposed on goods brought from Europe, as books, clothing, furs, machinery, wines, furniture, pictures, glass ware, and other articles? Does this tax make our people pay higher prices for the goods they consume? Does the higher price benefit few or many? Are manufactures improved and enlarged by this policy? Is the collection of this tax at ports fair and honest? What are the wrong acts provoked by the modes of collection? How do travelers and merchants seek to evade the import tax and what immoral acts arise from attempts to cheat the government? What is the duty of importers if they think the law itself is wrong and unjust? In voting for members of Congress and for the President, what responsibility has the citizen in reference to the methods of national revenues? What should one do who thinks it morally evil for the government to seek support from the profits on intoxicants and tobacco? The student should try to learn all the consequences of this system in every direction and on all classes of the community. This is not an easy task, yet many speak with dogmatic confidence on such themes without giving them prolonged study, merely showing the opinions of party leaders. If some thousand of young men were reading the best books on the subject and

discussing their contents, the leaders of the nation would be more carefully and wisely chosen.

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National Tax Association, *State and Local Taxation,* 1908.

2. *Problems of support of state and local governments.*—(*a*) The present methods. While there are many variations in different states, the essential elements in general are these: assessors are appointed according to state law to make lists of the amounts and values of all kinds of property of all citizens, and a rate of taxation is fixed according to which each owner of property is required to pay each year about one cent (more or less) for every dollar assessed, no matter what kind of property it may be. When this money is collected in the public treasury it is divided among the various public governments as required by law. If all the property were listed

at its true value, then all would contribute to the support of government according to their ability, or practically so, and this would be nearly fair. If the property of a citizen is a farm or houses or other visible things the assessors can see it for themselves and judge its value. If they are intelligent and honest this kind of tax will be collected justly. But in recent years very much wealth has been created which is not easily found, such as that represented by bonds, mortgages, stocks, and franchises.

b) Evils in this system. Members of the class, by talking with assessors and business men, as bankers, may find more evils than can be discussed briefly here. They will learn, among other things, that there is a direct temptation for taxpayers to hide stocks, bonds, notes, and other securities in vaults, and, where an oath is required to confirm their statements, to perjure themselves by reporting values much less than they actually own. In most towns and even in the country a majority of persons report to the assessors much less than the true amounts. But there are some who will not lie about this matter, and they tell the assessor all that they own, even when he could not otherwise find out. These more honest persons must therefore pay more, often many times more taxes than rich but unscrupulous neighbors

who are willing to lie in order to save money. The estates of widows and orphans are often placed in the control of courts where all the property is recorded in public books and cannot escape assessment. Thus the tendency of our system is to reward the cheat and liar and compel the honest and the widows and orphans to bear too heavy a share of the cost of government. All the great authorities on finance condemn this method which is common in all parts of our country. Thus Professor Seligman, one of the highest authorities, says of this kind of tax:

> Practically, the general property tax, as actually administered, is beyond all doubt one of the worst taxes known in the civilized world. Because of its attempt to tax intangible as well as tangible things, it sins against the cardinal rules of uniformity, of equality and universality of taxation. It puts a premium on dishonesty and debauches the public conscience; it reduces deception to a system, and makes a science of knavery; it presses hardest on those least able to pay; it imposes double taxation on one man and grants entire immunity to the next. In short, the general property tax is so flagrantly inequitable, that its retention can be explained only through ignorance or inertia. It is the cause of such crying injustice that its alteration or its abolition must become the battle cry of every statesman and reformer.[1]

How much of this inertia and ignorance is due to the neglect of the churches and adult Bible

[1] E. R. A. Seligman, *Essays in Taxation*, 2d ed., p 61.

classes? How many of the moral teachers of the nation have even studied this gigantic wrong? How guilty are the theological seminaries? How many will still claim that it is not a proper subject for Sunday study? "Evil is wrought by want of thought as well as want of heart."

c) Have the authorities who condemn the present system any better method to substitute for it? From the purely financial standpoint the modes of raising revenues for the federal government are generally satisfactory. It is thought that the incomes for the state should be separated from those of the cities, counties, and towns; that the state should derive its revenues chiefly from corporation and inheritance taxes; that local revenues should come from real estate and from other elements of wealth; that a carefully devised method might properly reach notes secured by mortgage without taxing the same wealth twice; and that other revenues might be taken from the visible resources of persons with income as indicated by their expenditures for consumption and enjoyment, such as residences, vehicles, etc. The tax on inherited wealth is collected at the moment when the heirs receive in large bulk property for which they have not labored. The tendency in our country is to extend the use of the inheritance tax as a source of revenue for the state. Society

tolerates, and at great sacrifice protects great fortunes of individuals, partly on the ground that those who are most competent to manage capital are the most productive agents of control. But this reason does not hold good in case of heirs; for children do not always inherit ability and energy, and often become indolent from absence of motive to work, and persons in the second generation of wealth are far removed from sympathy with those who by their toil make capital reproductive. Hence the income tax and the inheritance tax have come to be demanded as means of returning to general social possession a large part of the accumulations of men of vast industry, thrift, initiative, and power of organization and direction. The sifting process of each generation comes by redistribution of estates.

V. SUPPORT OF GOVERNMENT BY PERSONAL SERVICE

The citizen in a nation with universal suffrage and free speech owes many duties to government which are not included in payment of taxes. One of these duties is to know, as far as possible, the nature, functions, history, and needs of the political institutions which our forefathers improved and intrusted to the present generation.

On important matters which are proposed for

legislation each voter is under obligation to seek the best possible information and to assist by voice and vote those policies which seem to him to promise the highest results to the material and moral interests of the entire people. There are enough men who will secretly and often corruptly try to secure legislation that will enrich a few at the expense of many; but under our laws each citizen is rightfully bound to study and promote laws which will benefit all. Some of these policies are mentioned elsewhere in this series.

In the choice of representatives in city councils, state legislatures, and Congress those men should be nominated in all parties who have proved that they are intelligent, educated, and honest, and who will give their best study to the questions on which they are called to frame and enact laws. For judges should be chosen lawyers known to be upright, just, clean in life, and learned in law. For administrators of law, as governors, members of state boards of health and charity, mayors, trustees of towns, all citizens should insist upon one single principle—that of fitness by nature, character, and special training. In positions which require knowledge of medicine, only competent medical experts should be favored for election or appointment; for administrators of schools, only educated and experienced teachers; for legal

direction, only trained lawyers; for policemen, only those who have proved physical and mental fitness, and who merit advance by fidelity to duty; and thus throughout. That a man has been loyal to his party or has helped an incompetent man to be elected congressman or mayor, or has delivered the vote of clients of a saloon, or has done any sort of partisan political work, ought not to be once considered. Every administrative office ought to be open to all competent citizens without regard to party, on proof of fitness, and then the officers should be promoted in the line of their skill after faithful labor for the community as a whole. This is the merit system as contrasted with the spoils system; the first being based on the welfare of the community, the other on selfish, private, or party interests; the first is moral, the second is distinctly immoral.

Military service, that is the offer of life itself to defend the unity, integrity, safety, and honor of the nation, is the sacrifice which may be lawfully and rightly required of every strong man. Membership in the militia is training for such service. The grounds and reasons for these demands should be discussed in Christian circles. It is tragic when the nation or state requires its citizens to fight for an unjust cause, when patriotism is made to conflict with the sense of justice and humanity.

Many kinds of civil service are rendered without pay or with only small reward: as the service on juries in courts of justice, committees and councils of cities, school boards, boards of state institutions of charity. In all countries much of the best work is done for commonwealth and nation without money; the reward being enjoyed in a good conscience, a sense of usefulness, and the esteem of the public.

VI. DUTIES OF THE LEGAL PROFESSION IN RELATION TO GOVERNMENT AND TO THE COMMUNITY

The members of a particular profession are more familiar with the conditions, opportunities, temptations, and duties of that profession than are others; and it is their duty to maintain its standards. This obligation is clearly recognized and ably stated by a committee of the American Bar Association, in a recent report recommending the adoption of a code of ethics to govern the professional conduct of its members. At the 1905 meeting of the American Bar Association, the chairman of the executive committee presented a resolution, which was adopted unanimously, providing for a special committee to report upon the advisability and practicability of the adoption of a code of professional ethics by the association.

At the 1906 meeting the committee reported favorably upon both points, and at the 1907 meeting the association directed the committee to prepare a draft for the proposed canons of professional ethics, requesting suggestions and criticisms of all members of the American bar. In its report the committee says:

The foundation of the draft for canons of ethics is the code adopted by the Alabama State Bar Association in 1887. This draft represents our best present judgment after a most careful consideration of the subject.

In America, where justice reigns only by and through the people under forms of law, it is essential that the system for establishing and dispensing justice not only be developed to a high point of practical efficiency, but so maintained that there shall be absolute confidence on the part of the public in the fairness, the integrity, and the impartiality of its administration; otherwise there can be no permanence to our republican institutions.

Our profession is necessarily the keystone in the arch of republican government, and the future of the republic, to a great extent, depends on our maintenance of the shrine of justice pure and unsullied. It cannot be maintained unless the conduct and the motives of the members of our profession, who are the high priests of justice, are what they ought to be.

No code or set of rules can be framed which will particularize all the duties of the lawyer in the varying phases of litigation or in all the relations of professional life. The following canons of ethics are adopted by the American Bar Association as a general guide, yet the

enumeration of particular duties should not be construed as a denial of the existence of others equally imperative, though not specifically mentioned.

The canons deal with many problems confronting the lawyer in his professional conduct. Among the most important recommendations are the following:

Defending one whom advocate believes to be guilty.—A lawyer may undertake with propriety the defense of a person accused of a crime, although he knows or believes him guilty, and having undertaken it he is bound by all fair and honorable means to present such defenses as the law of the land permits, to the end that no person may be deprived of life or liberty but by due process of law.

How far a lawyer may go in supporting a client's cause.—Nothing operates more certainly to create or to foster popular prejudice against lawyers as a class and to deprive the profession of that full measure of public esteem and confidence which belongs to the proper discharge of its duties than does the false claim often set up by the unscrupulous in defense of questionable transactions, that it is the duty of the lawyer to do whatever may enable him to succeed in winning his client's cause.

A lawyer owes entire devotion to the interest of his client, warm zeal in the maintenance and defense of his cause, and the exertion of the utmost skill and ability, to the end that nothing may be taken or withheld from him, save by the rules of law, legally applied. Nevertheless, it is steadfastly to be borne in mind that the great trust is to be performed within and not without the bounds of the law. The office of attorney does not per-

mit, much less does it demand for any client, violation of law, or any manner of fraud or chicanery. No lawyer is justified in substituting another's conscience for his own. A lawyer should not do for a client what his sense of honor would forbid him to do for himself.

Treatment of witnesses and litigants.—A lawyer should always treat adverse witnesses and suitors with fairness and due consideration, and he should never minister to the malevolence or prejudices of a client in the trial or conduct of a cause. The client cannot be made the keeper of the lawyer's conscience in professional matters. He cannot demand as of right that his counsel shall abuse the opposite party or indulge in offensive personalities. Improper speech is not excusable on the ground that it is what the client would say if speaking in his own behalf.

Advertising, direct or indirect.—The most worthy and effective advertisement possible, even for a young lawyer, and especially with his brother lawyers, is the establishment of a well-merited reputation for professional capacity and fidelity to trust. This cannot be forced, but must be the outcome of character and conduct. The publication or circulation of ordinary sized business cards, being a matter of personal taste or local custom, and sometimes of convenience, is not per se improper. But solicitation of business by circulars or advertisements or by personal communications or interviews, not warranted by personal relations, is unprofessional.

Stirring up litigation, directly or through agents.—It is unprofessional for a lawyer to volunteer advice to bring a lawsuit, except in rare cases, where ties of blood relationship or trust make it his duty to do so. Not only is stirring up strife and litigation unprofessional, but it

is disreputable in morals, contrary to public policy, and indictable at common law. No one should be permitted to remain in the profession who hunts up defects in titles or other causes of action and informs thereof in order to be employed to bring suit, or who breeds litigation by seeking out those with claims for personal injuries or those having any other grounds of action, in order to secure them as clients, or who employs agents or runners for like purposes, or who pays or rewards, directly or indirectly, those who bring or influence the bringing of such cases to his office, or who remunerates policemen, court or prison officials, physicians, hospital attaches, or others who may succeed, under the guise of giving disinterested friendly advice, in influencing the criminal, the sick, and the injured, the ignorant, or others, to seek his professional services.

Responsibility for litigation.—No lawyer is obliged to act, either as adviser or advocate, for any person who may wish to become his client. He has the right to refuse retainers. Every lawyer must decide what business he will accept as counselor, what causes he will bring into court for plaintiffs, what cases he will contest in court for defendants. The responsibility for advising questionable transactions, for bringing questionable suits, for urging questionable defenses, is the lawyer's responsibility. He cannot escape it by urging as an excuse that he is only following his client's instructions.

The lawyer's duty in its last analysis.—No client, corporate or individual, however powerful, nor any cause, civil or political, however important, is entitled to receive, nor should any lawyer render, any service or advice involving disloyalty to the law whose ministers we are, or disrespect of the judicial office, which we are bound

to uphold, or corruption of any person or persons exercising a public office or private trust or deception or betrayal of the public. When rendering any such improper service or advice, the lawyer lays aside his robe of office, and in his own person invites and merits stern and just condemnation. Correspondingly, he advances the honor of his profession and the best interests of his client when he renders service or gives advice tending to impress upon the client and his undertaking exact compliance with the strictest principles of moral law. He must also observe and advise his client to observe the statute law, though until a statute law shall have been construed and interpreted by competent adjudication, he is free and is entitled to advise as to its validity and as to what he conscientiously believes to be its just meaning and extent. But, above all, a lawyer will find his highest honor in a deserved reputation for fidelity to private trust and to public duty, as an honest man and as a patriotic and loyal citizen.

Finishing its report, the committee commends for adoption the following oath of admission to the bar as containing clearly the general principles which should ever control the lawyer in the practice of his profession:

I do solemnly swear:

I will support the constitution of the United States and the state of ———.

I will maintain the respect due to courts of justice and judicial officers.

I will counsel and maintain only such actions, proceedings, and defenses as appear to me legally debatable

and just, except the defense of a person charged with a public offense.

I will employ for the purpose of maintaining the causes confided in me such means only as are consistent with truth and honor, and will never seek to mislead the judge or jury by any artifice or false statement of fact or law.

I will maintain the confidence and preserve inviolate the secrets of my client, and will accept no compensation in connection with his business except from him or with his knowledge and approval.

I will abstain from all offensive personality, and advance no fact prejudicial to the honor or reputation of a party or witness, unless required by the justice of the cause with which I am charged.

I will never reject, from any consideration personal to myself, the cause of the defenseless or oppressed, nor delay any man's cause for lucre or malice. So help me God.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. The class may properly take up the Constitution of the Union and the constitutions of one or more of the several states. These contain definitions of the chief branches of government, the powers and duties of officers, the rights of citizens, and express the fundamental principles of law.

2. Members of the class may find out and report what is done by the officers of their township, school district, city, county, state, for poor relief, for constructing and maintaining roads, bridges, parks, and for other purposes not here mentioned. Interviews with policemen, justices of the peace, township trustees, school superin-

tendents or inspectors, councilmen, jailers, superintendents of poorhouses, and others, may reveal to the class the aims, difficulties, usefulness, temptations, and defects of public administration. Officers are made more earnest and faithful if they are made aware that their work is inspected; that if they are negligent they may be rebuked and if they are faithful and efficient they will be praised and rewarded.

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CHAPTER XVI

SOCIAL DUTIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS[1]

At first thought the ordinary modest Christian in humble private station, remote from the diplomatic circles of Washington, is inclined to imagine that affairs of international magnitude do not concern him, that they belong to the secrets of state, that his ignorance and lack of political influence excuse him from responsibility in such high and complicated matters. But morality has no national boundaries, and the claims of neighborliness are valid between kings and republics. The rulers of men are servants of God and history shows that they are better men and governors if watched by an intelligent people who love righteousness and hate iniquity. President Nicholas Murray Butler has well said:

> One of the chief problems of our time is to bring the nations' minds and the nations' consciences to bear on the moral problems involved in international relations. This is a step in the moral education of the world.[2]

And at the same meeting Rear-Admiral C. F. Goodrich stated an important truth:

[1] Biblical passages which may well be read at the beginning of this study are: Matt. 28:18, 19; Ps. 72.

[2] *Proceedings of Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration*, 1907.

When the people want peace, they will have peace; when they want war, they will have war, and they are likely to want that of which most is sung and written and spoken. The more we talk about peace, the less our chance of war. . . . . You must labor with these gentlemen of the press, that they use their mighty powers toward allaying race hatred and toward sweetening and brightening international relations, that they report the graces and virtues of men of alien blood and speech, not their supposed defects of character, and so shall they bring all nations of earth together in that perfect understanding and sympathy in which war can have no place.

There is not a person of intelligence so obscure in the republic that he can escape responsibility. Women may not vote but they have not lost the faculty of speech, and they have much to say about admitting or excluding newspapers of the "yellow" sort which go screeching rumors of war and plots to kill through streets and homes. The tone of conversation at the fireside in relation to foreigners helps to shape the phrases of congressmen on the floor of the House at Washington; for men ambitious of place are quick to imitate the accents of the "dear people" in the rural districts. Many a time in the past a small clique of merchants, eager to sell goods to savages or furnish munitions of war, and cabals of capital, have involved a nation in bloodshed and debt before the people knew why they were sud-

denly plunged into the awful maelstrom of conflicting forces.

As in previous parts of this study we now attempt to bring before us some of the most important facts of international relations that we may see the grounds for popular interest in these large duties and for the formation of public sentiment based on principles of reason and justice.

I. INTERESTS AND ACTIVITIES BETWEEN PEOPLES IN TIMES OF PEACEFUL INTERCOURSE

1. *Commerce.*—Men trade with each other for mutual advantage, and each man offers the commodities or services of his trade or profession in return for other kinds of goods and services. The farmer produces grain, fruits, and meat for a market and exchanges them for the goods of the merchant, the services of the dentist, the song of the musician, and all parties to the exchange are benefited by the dealings. So one nation living in a warm climate can produce bananas, oranges, rice, cotton, and hard, fine wood, which it is eager to exchange for steel implements, cotton and woolen cloth, kitchen utensils, and watches made by a people dwelling under colder skies having advantage in peculiar forms of skill. America has food supplies more than can be here consumed, while Germany, France, Italy have

fine wares which we cannot yet make so well or so cheaply; and those lands have collections of art in galleries and museums which we are glad to pay to enjoy.

Commerce, however, is often competitive, as where Germany, France, England, and the United States all desire to sell goods in China or Africa. Competition gives rise to conflict of interests, and these require settlement by treaties, agreements, adjustments. "Tariff wars" are carried on in times of peace, a form of retaliation to secure a basis for better bargains under new treaties. Just as there is a conflict of interests between laborers seeking the same chance to work for wages, between merchants soliciting the patronage of the village or town, between employer and employee in dividing the product of their united efforts, so there is conflict among competitors of different races and lands; and those conflicts sometimes are carried in both instances even to bloodshed.

2. *International migration gives rise to serious problems of duty.*—Our citizens desire to travel securely in foreign lands for trade or pleasure or health or learning. During many years this country had vast areas of unoccupied lands which produced nothing because there were not enough people to till the fields and work the mines and sail the lakes. Our ancestors came across the

ocean to improve their condition; and we are all foreigners except the Indians, and the red men are not "Indians." For a long time our nation felt sure that we had "space about the hearth for all mankind." But space does not increase and the people of old countries swarm in limited territory; the farm which supported a family will not support five families and the children must emigrate or starve. Persecution in Russia makes thousands of Jews homeless and they seek a hospitable and tolerant shore. Ancient cities weary of bearing with criminals and of supporting paupers and defectives sought to relieve their troubles by shipping these undesirable persons to America. Are we bound to receive all that come or are sent to us? Even if there were room and soil to till, we have come to believe that national duty would lead to some measure of restriction of immigration. Most intelligent citizens who have considered the matter seem to reach the conclusion that we cannot maintain our type of life and the vigor and health of our stock if we adulterate blood with that of degenerates imported from the prisons and asylums of Europe. We believe that our best service to mankind cannot be rendered if we suffer our working people to be dragged down to the level of the half-starved laborers of other countries and especially

if we admit debased and diseased men and women. Further, we think that if we permit other countries to ship the results of their social neglect, excessive taxation for war and courts, low wages, imperfect care of the poor, and free multiplication of the sickly, those nations will not correct such evils at home. So long as England could transport her criminals she postponed the improvement of her prisons, popular education, and agencies of saving children and youth from vice and ruin. When her failures were sent back she sought to dry up the evil at its spring.

3. *There are the facts of interchange of ideas, inventions, publications, spiritual commerce of various kinds,* which give rise to treaties and agreements. Of recent years the rights of inventors and discoverers have been more clearly recognized than formerly, and thus we have come to admit that a man who has introduced a new idea or written a valuable work, or invented a useful machine or composed a piece of music, should be protected in his property for a term of years even if he belongs to another nation. Perhaps this recognition arises partly from the desire to stimulate invention by rewarding it, and partly from the knowledge that if we do not protect the inventors of other nations they will not protect ours. At any rate we have in these relations a

field of international morality which requires study.

The class at this point should endeavor to collect and discuss other facts relating to the intercourse between peoples in time of peace, and try to discern what duties they involve.

II. INTERESTS OF PEOPLES IN TIMES OF WAR

Unfortunately modern peoples have not yet become civilized enough to cease considering the possibilities and relations of war.

1. *Occasions of war*—that is of attempts at coercion by armed force. It is almost universally admitted that a man has a right to defend his own life, his family, and his property against assailants. Perhaps we should except those who believe in the duty of non-resistance; but there are circumstances under which even a good Quaker would not feel qualms of conscience after taking the life of a miscreant, and where he would feel himself a cowardly poltroon if he stood by and permitted deeds which he might by force prevent. And so there seem to be times when a people must either lie down and permit a king to step upon its neck, invade its territory, and rob its wealth, or must arm for battle. If a foreign navy or army should attempt to burn our cities and levy tribute upon us, few men would nesitate to join the army or navy.

Invasion of foreign territory has for its object, conquest of territory, opening of markets for goods, revenge for injuries or insults, or "glory" which we find it hard to define. Most of our citizens have come to see that, while we have no right to conquer weaker peoples for gain or to exploit them by taxation when subdued, the civilized nations have a right to keep up a strong police to repress piracy, brigandage, and the murder of travelers and merchants in countries without orderly government. It is true this position is denied by a limited number of citizens; but the outbreak of the Spanish war showed that our people could not endure the story of outrage in a near country where we had power to interfere.

It seems inevitable that commerce and the ideas of civilized nations must reach every part of the globe, and, incidental to the process, the use of protective police, where local government does not exist or is inefficient, must be occasionally invoked. It is at this point that every American citizen of intelligence feels himself under moral obligations to form some opinion and assume some attitude in relation to the problems connected with our dealings with the peoples of the Philippine Islands, Hawaii, Guam, Cuba, and Porto Rico. Appeals are frequently made to us to protest against the abuses of government in Africa by

the Belgians, the British, and the Germans; and not infrequently voices are heard condemning the methods of British government in India. This means that there are other ways of affecting the actions of great powers than by direct interference of a government with threat of war.

The class may well discuss the right and wrong and the various arguments heard on the subject of "imperialism," "expansion," "colonies."

2. *What war means.*—Painters, statisticians, and apostles of peace have vied with each other in the attempt to make men realize what war means. The artist depicts upon canvas the mangled bodies, the looks of horror, fear, hate, agony, despair. Poets and orators set forth in language which burns into the imagination the miseries of the soldier, the sorrows of widows and fatherless children, the waste of harvest fields, the burning of homes and temples, the passions of vengeance, the feuds which remain like smoldering embers for generations after war has ceased. Economists tell the cost of war in money, in cessation of useful production, in diversion of capital and labor to the manufacture of means of destruction; they have shown how peaceful measures of progress, as workingmen's insurance and old-age pensions are delayed because of national expenditures upon war.

3. *Can war be diminished?*—Moral obligations are affected by the possibility of finding means of remedy. Even now forces are at work among the peoples of the earth to diminish the frequency of war.

a) Workingmen the world over are organizing a sentiment adverse to war. They are awake to the fact that little cliques of merchants, desiring to extend profitable trade, rings of courtiers and ambitious kings, and officers of army and navy eager for promotion, may plunge a nation into scenes of bloodshed and make the wage earners carry the cost and become "food for gunpowder" to gratify avarice or vanity. They are aware that "glory" is often a mere cloak for base passions of men in high place and that a pretense of honor may easily hide most dishonorable deeds. Hence trade unions and socialists in Europe and America are massing their forces to prevent conflicts of nations. They declare that at least workingmen are brothers the world over, and their interests are hostile to bloody methods of settling disputes.

b) The influence of commerce is, perhaps, generally in favor of peace between nations; but sometimes merchants of an adventurous and unscrupulous type, wishing to control a traffic with partially civilized tribes, are known to involve

their agents in trouble with such tribes and then call on the home government for help or even revenge and conquest. There can hardly be a doubt that commerce in the widest view of it tends to call for peaceful relations.

c) Christianity, when its meaning is appreciated and its spirit felt is a force working for truth, righteousness, fair dealing, conciliation, reason and peace.

III. INTERNATIONAL LAW

International law, in a strict sense, is that body of rules by which the civilized nations of modern times have actually agreed to regulate their dealings with each other in peace and in war. This body of rules is not identical with absolute justice; it does not always tend to promote the welfare of mankind, and still contains traces of the assertion of the right of the stronger to rule the weaker without security for the latter; and perhaps some of the rules look more to the advantage of those already in possession of power than to any sort of justice. It is simply a set of precepts generally accepted by advanced peoples for settling debated questions between them or any of their citizens.

International law tends on the whole toward justice, because agreements which are reached by comparison of views by the capable representa-

tives of many nations are more apt to exclude selfish considerations than rules made arbitrarily by a single dominant government. No body of law of any kind is entirely just, for imperfect humanity will show its defects of knowledge, wisdom and character in all its institutions; but always the spirit of reason and humanity moves in the actual codes and modifies them in the direction of the common welfare, that is toward righteousness.

All human institutions are growing, never entirely finished, since they must be molded to the changing needs of new situations; and all laws and customs are improved by a constant process of trial and criticism. Criticism is the process by which higher and broader considerations of well-being are brought to bear on the actual rule at a given time, so as to show that it somehow falls short of the demands of welfare and that a better rule can be framed. This criticism is carried on in controversies, trials, discussions by teachers of the science, textbooks, journals of experts, popular discussions, until it leads to a restatement of a rule in treaties and other international agreements. Christianity has had a profound influence on international law.

Christianity wrought, with its other changes, a great change in public law. The spirit of Christian brother-

hood found its way into cabinets and camps. The citizen of another state or the subject of another king was yet a brother in Christ and the barriers which separated nations were, in part at least, thrown down. The influence of the Christian church upon the public law of the world cannot be overestimated. As soon as the brotherhood of man came to be accepted as a religious tenet, it was inevitable that the old doctrine of the natural antipathy of nations should, sooner or later, disappear. In the earliest ages the stranger had been accounted an enemy, and even the victim of shipwreck might lawfully have been plundered. Such barbarities fell before the gospel.[8]

International law differs materially from other laws. Thus the laws of a nation or of a commonwealth are framed by legislators chosen by the methods customary in that nation or commonwealth; while the rules of international law are merely agreements made between nations, since there is no legislature representing various nations and having authority to make laws governing their action. Again, each nation or commonwealth has a supreme court which defines, interprets, and applies the laws to particular questions as they arise; but there is no supreme court to interpret the rules of public law whose decisions are binding on all parties concerned. In the case of ordinary federal or state laws there is some executive person or authority to see that the laws are made effective; but there

[8] T. S. Woolsey, in *Universal Encyclopedia.*

is no executive sitting over the nations and compelling their observance of the rules of international law. The rules of public law arise out of disputes between nations; they are defined in treaties and interpreted by diplomacy or commissions as occasions arise; they are enforced only by the sense of honor, justice, and loyalty to veracity and good faith, although they may in the last resort be enforced by war. But war is simply a trial of force, not of reason.

What is the relation of international law to social duties? International law is in its essence an effort to define the conduct most conducive to common welfare in the relations of peoples in peace and war; it is one chapter in the system of thought about social duties. International law seeks to protect the integrity of nations, the right of each nation to its own government and to its own way of managing its affairs, so long as it does not trespass on others. It seeks to protect the peaceful control of its property and territory by each state. It defines the rights and duties of foreigners while they are residing or traveling among foreign peoples. It provides for diplomatic correspondence by means of ministers, ambassadors, consuls, as agents of states. It provides for contracts and agreements in the form of treaties.

Even when war has been declared and the dreadful appeal to force has been sounded abroad, still international law intervenes and seeks to mitigate and minimize the horrors which it cannot altogether prevent. Under its beneficent rules prisoners taken in battle must be humanely treated in relation to food, lodging, and medical care.

Non-combatants, as women, children, the aged, and all persons pursuing their peaceful callings without taking up arms, are to be respected by the soldiery in person and property. If private property is taken or destroyed, through military necessity, a receipt is given the owner and he is afterward reimbursed for his losses. In former ages of barbarism women were ravished, children were enslaved, property was the spoil of the conquerers, and the fury of passion was let loose on all the inhabitants of the invaded territory. The tendency of international law has been to confine the carnage of battle to persons and places actually employed in hostile acts.

On the field of battle the surgeons and nurses, and the tents where the flag of the Red Cross waves, are held sacred; hospitals are sanctuaries, even in the heat of conflict. Public buildings and works of art are not wantonly to be destroyed. Some restraint, though not much, is placed upon pillage and destruction in the storming of fortified

places; there the ferocity and brutality of war still reveal their true nature in excess of horrors. Heralds from an opposing army and bearing a flag of truce, if received, are to be treated with respect and their lives are safe.

In the case of war with savages who do not recognize international law, Dr. Woolsey says: "The simple rule of humanity is all that can be required of the civilized combatant. The parties being unequal, and one of them ignorant, distrustful, and perfidious, there can be no law of nations to govern their intercourse." This means that such wars should not be forced upon an inferior people without the strongest proof of necessity.

International law seeks to regulate the treatment of neutral nations in time of war. "A neutral is a state which is a friend to both the belligerents and takes no part in the war" (Woolsey). With the immense growth of commerce in modern times it has become vastly important that innocent parties should not be ruined by the conflict of warring nations. A principle now generally admitted is that neutral nations should treat both fighters impartially and not be injured in trade by acts of hostility.

It sounds almost like mockery to speak of rules for war, that is rules for murder and slaughter,

and yet even a moderation of carnage is a gain, perhaps a movement toward the abolition of such bloodshed. Woolsey tells us that—

> the principles of a humane and yet efficient war-code are especially these: that war is a way of obtaining justice when other means have failed; that it is waged between governments; that quiet inhabitants of a country are to be treated with humanity and with as little severity as will allow of the effective prosecution of the conflict; that as soon as justice can be secured, armed contest ought to cease; and that retaliation, if necessary on account of the inhuman or deceitful conduct of the adversary, cannot go to the extreme of justifying that which is morally wrong.

For example, weapons, and missiles which inflict agony without corresponding efficiency are condemned. Troops employed in war must be such only as can be kept under military discipline. Perfidy and solicitations to commit crime are not allowable. Military necessity admits of such deception as does not involve the breaking of good faith. Men who take up arms against one another in public war do not cease on this account to be moral beings, responsible to one another and to God. Military necessity does not admit of cruelty—that is, the infliction of suffering for the sake of suffering or for revenge—nor of maiming or wounding except in fight, nor of torture to extort confessions. It does not admit of

the use of poisons in any way, nor of the wanton devastation of a district. It admits of deception, but disdains acts of perfidy.

It has more than once been sneeringly declared by cynical enemies of the nobler way that the whole movement to secure judicial settlement of disputes is a sign of weak sentimentalism, cowardice, and folly; that the great nations will never cease to fight when they think they have the advantage; that the Hague Conference, representing the various governments in consideration of methods of reducing liability to war, ended with hypocritical talk. But there are those well entitled to respect who take a quite different view of this recent development of rational and judicial agencies for avoiding appeal to brute force.

Under the leadership of members of the Society of Friends the Lake Mohonk Conference has for several years met and labored over a programme of progressive action, and this was its platform at the thirteenth annual conference on international arbitration, 1907:

We urge as the most immediate and important action to be taken by this second Hague Conference the following measures: (1) a provision for stated meetings of the Hague Conference; (2) such changes in the Hague Court as may be necessary to establish a definite judicial tribunal always open for the adjudication of international questions; (3) a general arbitration treaty

for the settlement of international disputes; (4) the establishment of the principle of the inviolability of innocent private property at sea in time of war; (5) a declaration to the effect that there should be no armed intervention for the collection of private claims when the debtor nation is willing to submit such claims to arbitration. We commend, in accordance with our resolution of last year, the consideration by the Hague Conference of a plan for the neutralization of ocean trade routes.

The Hague Conference of 1907 was not wholly fruitless, although the advance made was not so great as many of us might wish.

Even in regard to a purely international court supplementing the present diplomatic body, while the details are not settled, the foundation of such a court is now definitely laid through the adoption by the Conference of the underlying principle of permanent, paid judges, who shall not be allowed to occupy any other position, as is permitted to the present judges on the Hague list of the court erected in 1899. . . . . As distinguished from the present Hague Tribunal, it will be called the Hague Court of Arbitral Justice. The first court will exist for adjustment of political disputes; the second for those of a more judicial nature.[4]

The conference of 1907 adopted the principle of prohibiting the use of force for collection of debts until after the justice and amount of the debt, its time and manner of payment, and the security to be given shall be fixed by arbitration, if demanded by the debtor.

[4] *Outlook*, November 9, 1907, p. 509.

It is always the way of the cynic to belittle any argument which does not make direct appeal to force; and he asks with bitter contempt, What is the sanction of such a court? The sanction of the decisions of an international court is public opinion. Professor J. B. Moore, a high authority on international law, said:

What sanction would there be for the enforcement of arbitral decisions? We answer, the most efficient of all sanctions, public opinion. It is a great mistake to suppose that the peace and good order of society are preserved by the penalties prescribed in the criminal codes. And so far as such penalties exert an influence, it is by the disgrace attending their imposition, rather than by the physical inconvenience that attends their infliction. Let him who is doubtful as to the execution of the judgments of international arbitration, reflect upon the fact that in most cases such judgments have been scrupulously observed, and that in no case have nations, after having agreed to arbitrate a dispute, gone to war about it. Arbitration has brought peace, and "peace with honor."

He cites the advantages of a permanent court of international arbitration: it would (1) avoid disputes; (2) prevent popular excitements; (3) afford opportunity for deliberation; (4) be the means of developing international law by establishing a consistent system of principles and precedents.

International opinion is the consensus of individual opinion in the nations. The most certain way to pro-

mote obedience to the law of nations and to substitute the power of opinion for the power of armies and navies is, on the one hand, to foster that "decent respect to the opinions of mankind" which found place in the great Declaration of 1776, and, on the other hand, to spread among the people of every country a just appreciation of international rights and duties, and a knowledge of the principles and rules of international law to which national conduct ought to confirm; so that the general opinion, whose approval or condemnation supplies the sanction for the law, may be sound and just and worthy of respect.

There is no civilized country now which is not sensitive to this general opinion, none that is willing to subject itself to the discredit of standing brutally on its power to deny to other countries the benefit of recognized rules of right conduct. The deference shown to this international public opinion is in due proportion to a nation's greatness and advance in civilization. The nearest approach to defiances will be found among the most isolated and least civilized of countries, whose ignorance of the world prevents the effect of the world's opinion; and in every such country internal disorder, oppression, poverty, and indebtedness mark the penalties which warn mankind that the laws established by civilization for the guidance of national conduct cannot be ignored with impunity.[5]

Our honored ambassador at the court of Berlin, Dr. David Jayne Hill, has also said:

It has demonstrated, first of all, not only that a universal congress of this character is possible, but that certain great principles—or postulates of constructive action,

[5] Elihu Root.

as we may call them—are now beyond dispute. Among these are the propositions that peace is the normal and war the abnormal condition of civilized nations; that the relations of sovereign states are properly based on principles of justice, and not upon force; that really sovereign states should have equal right before the bar of international justice, independently of their size or military strength; that disputes between governments should be settled, as far as possible, by judicial methods, and not by war; and that war, if inevitable, is an evil whose disastrous consequences—especially as regards neutrals, non-combatants, the sick and the wounded—should by general agreement be reduced to a minimum.[6]

IV. A WORLD-WIDE POLICY OF DUTY FOR A CHRISTIAN PEOPLE

Deeper than all law is national character of which law is but one expression.

1. Our best protection against wrong is our own righteousness, fairness, kindness to all men in all relations. The most powerful means of overcoming evil is goodness. To conquer the heart of a man or a nation is the only enduring conquest. To be secure in universal good-will is the most impregnable fortress. Let me quote the words of a soldier and statesman, Carl Schurz:

The old Roman poet tells us that it is sweet and glorious to die for one's country. It is noble, indeed. But, to die on the battlefield is not the highest achieve-

[6] *Review of Reviews*, December, 1907, p. 727.

ment of heroism. To live for a good cause, honestly, earnestly, unselfishly, laboriously, is at least as noble and heroic as to die for it, and usually far more difficult. I am confident our strongest, most effective, most trustworthy, and infinitely the cheapest coast defense will consist in "Fort Justice," "Fort Good Sense," "Fort Self-respect," "Fort Goodwill," and if international differences really do arise, "Fort Arbitration."

Why should not the class review the cases decided against Canada by agreements with Great Britain and by tribunals of arbitration, and open them up again for reconsideration? With honorable men a debt is never outlawed, and a legal decision which was unfair, or which justly wounded the self-respect of a helpless person is never regarded as the end of debate. Why should our great nation insist on keeping territory which belongs to Canada merely because, under stress of danger, perhaps, or in the ignorance of her diplomatists, the mother-country gave an adverse decision against one of her dependencies? It is not at all likely that Canadians will ever bring up these settled matters again; but they cannot forget, and if we are wrong the fact that we are strong is only a reason why we should even yield a point for the sake of convincing our noble neighbors that we are not mean and unscrupulous. (See the textbook, *The Story of the Canadian People,* by David M. Duncan, pp. 395–404.)

2. It is the duty of the Christian ministry and of the church everywhere to make known the history, the principles, and the moral foundation of the modern method of deciding international differences by judicial methods. If ever it were

proper to give the full and unquestioned sanction of religion to duty it is here.

Long ago a Christian jurist spoke the word:

> Though public tribunals do not proceed from nature, but from the act of man, yet equity and natural reason dictate to us that we must conform to so laudable an institution, since it is much more decent and more conducive to tranquillity among men, that a matter should be decided by a disinterested judge, than that men, under the influence of self-love, should *right themselves according to their notions of right.*[7]

And in recent days another Christian leader, diplomatist, scholar, and university president has lent the authority of his name to this principle:

> Let us stand before the world, prepared to defend ourselves, if need be, with our good right arms, as becomes those who believe that there are calamities more dreadful to a nation than war. But let us make no claim on other nations which are not just claims. Let us show our confidence in the justice of our demands by our willingness to submit to a properly constituted tribunal all such questions as we and they agree may be proper for submission, provided that in no case shall the question involve our independence, or the substantial integrity of our country.[8]

We may cite the words of another great uni-

[7] Grotius, *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, Lib. I c. 3. 1 (Vol. I, p. 95).

[8] President J. B. Angell.

versity leader of thought, President C. W. Eliot, of Harvard:

> Never should we advocate the extension of our institutions by force of arms, either on sea or on land. Never should we attempt to force another nation to adopt arbitration or any other doctrine of peace. . . . . Let us teach the children what is the rational, sober-minded, righteous mode of settling international difficulties. Let us teach them that what is reasonable and righteous between man and man should be made reasonable and righteous between nation and nation.

General U. S. Grant, whose courage and military genius are beyond question, said:

> Though I have been trained a soldier, and have participated in many battles, there never was a time when, in my opinion, some way could not have been found of preventing the drawing of the sword. I look forward to an epoch when a court, recognized by all nations, will settle international differences, instead of keeping large standing armies, as they do in Europe.

Let the church teach its congregations to pray for peace and righteousness and that the Father of all may hasten the day when

> All men's good shall
> Be each man's rule; and universal peace
> Lie like a shaft of light across the land,
> And like a lane of beams across the sea,
> Through all the circle of the golden year.

3. *Worldwide missions.*—It is not enough to remain at home and be negatively, passively just;

we are debtors to all men, and our Lord bids us go into all the earth and proclaim the glad tidings to all peoples, peace and good-will through all lands and in every tongue.

Let a certain type of socialism proclaim the union of one class, inspired by "class consciousness," among all men; be it ours to take up the fragment of truth which they assert with enthusiasm and proclaim the union of men, not merely the union of wage-earners. Only when men of all races and ranks have come to be one in the kingdom of God which Jesus proclaimed shall we have the final and enduring pledge of peace by righteousness.

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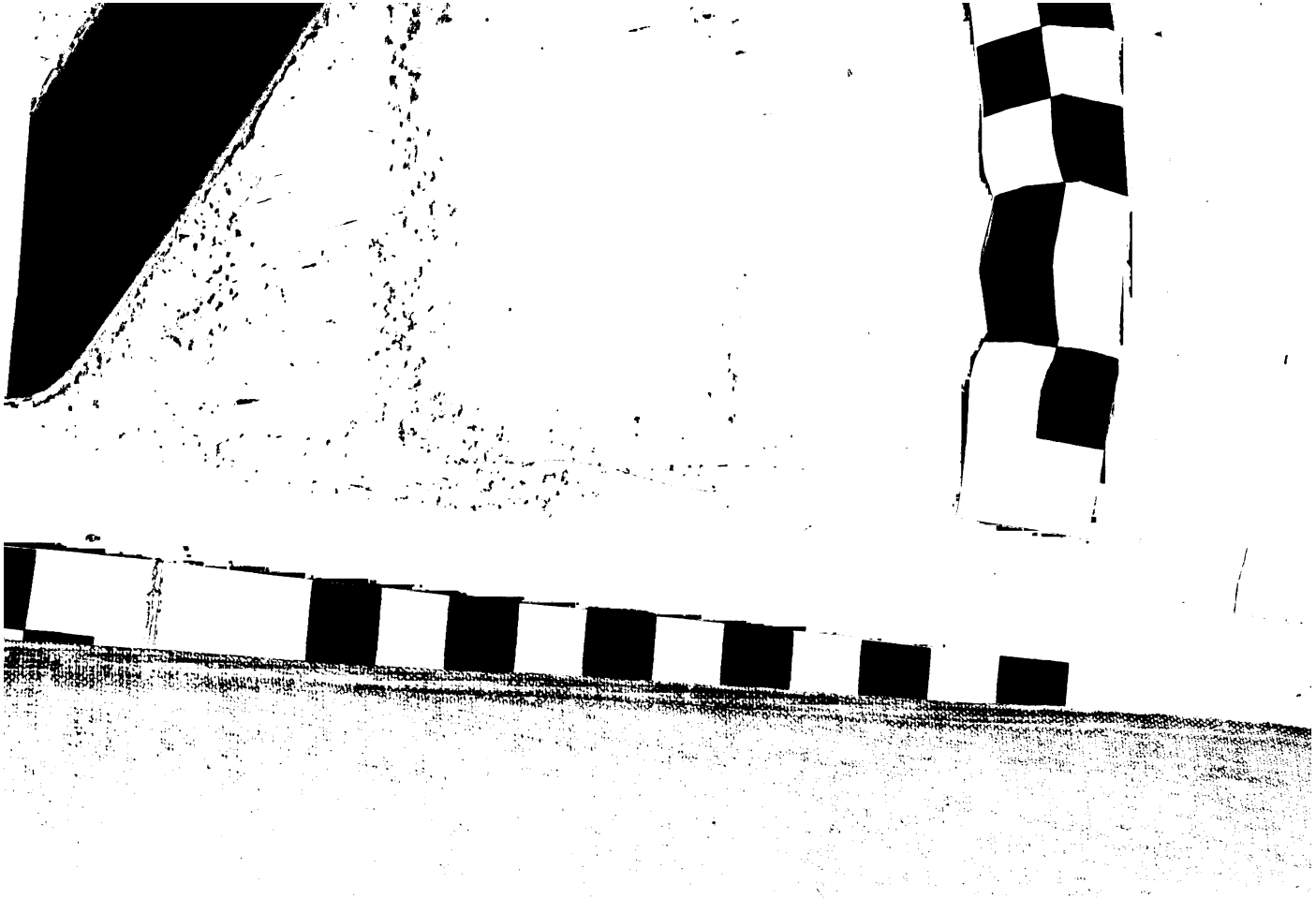
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